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THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY

AND  
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. X.

*Published by order of the Managers of the*  
**THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.**

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THE PROFITS ARISING FROM THIS WORK, ARE DEVOTED TO  
THE CAUSE OF THE SOCIETY.

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1834

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MARCH, 1834.

[No. 1.

FROM THE LITERARY AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

REVIEW OF ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS, AND DEFENCE OF  
THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

By HON. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, Senator in the United States Congress.

*Address of the New York Anti-Slavery Society. Printed by West and Trow: New York, 1833.—Declaration of the Anti-Slavery Convention, assembled at Philadelphia, December 6, 1833.*

5  
We have read the Address and Declaration above named, with surprise and regret. Had they been content with the fullest developement of their own views and principles, however much we might have differed, we should have felt respect even for the errors of misguided good will. But when the Declaration proceeds to enjoin *political action*, it is proper its principles should be examined; and when the Address, in a style of singular self-confidence, assails and denounces by name, a respectable Society, that has long been labouring for the welfare of the African race, and, as we believe, with the purest motives; we deem it, in common justice, due to the history and the numerous friends of the Colonization Society, that it should be heard in defence.

We must protest against the exclusive and uncompromising spirit of the Address, as exhibited in the following paragraphs:—"It is *our* object to recommend the *only* practicable and safe plan," &c. And again, "The *only* wise method of making it (emancipation) entire, is to make it immediate." We take leave to say, that many sober minded men, after deep reflection, believe that a system of gradual abolition is wiser, because happier for the slave, and safer for the country. And with such views, many of the free states have addressed their legislation to this subject. In New York and New Jersey, the abolition of slavery has been the gradual work of the last thirty years. The enlightened statesmen, who have devoted their best thoughts to this interesting subject, did believe that they not only might, but were solemnly bound to aim at less than immediate emancipation, while they were honestly and earnestly seeking the sure and final abolition of slavery.

The Address has collected fragments of speeches, detached remarks of individuals, isolated paragraphs, culled from newspapers and reports of

auxiliary societies, and, with greater skill than fairness, wove them into an argument, by which to fix upon the Colonization Society the charge of hostility to emancipation. This mode of conducting a grave discussion, may be as successfully employed in the countenance of error, as in the support of truth. No other scheme of benevolence could abide such a scrutiny.—To hold it responsible for all that has been said of it, or for it, by all men, and under all circumstances, is neither just nor candid. It is, indeed, not trying the cause, but the thousand considerations and motives that may influence its advocates.

The first affirmative point in the conclusions at which the Convention arrive from their premises, is, "*That there is no difference in principle, between the African slave trade, and American slavery.*" By this it is obviously meant; that is as wicked for an American owner of slaves to retain them, as it is to engage in the African slave trade. The fallacy of this position is apparent by reference to facts. It is now within a few months of a quarter of a century, since the introduction of slaves into the United States was prohibited, under the sanctions of the Constitution. This is more than equivalent to *three lives*, as computed in the English law. Slavery, therefore, as it now exists in this country, may be fairly considered rather as an "unblest inheritance" cast upon the present generation, than as its own voluntary crime. And yet, according to the reasoning of the Convention, the involuntary recipients of a legacy, which, like Pandora's box, is full of mischief and poison, are as guilty as those who prepared it, or as if they were now to engage, voluntarily and actively, in the abominable traffic. To reason in this manner, is to confound right and wrong; it is to break down the proper distinction between vice and virtue; and to regard intention, or the exercise of will, as not at all entering into the character of crime.

But it is not our present object to follow these publications through all the abstract propositions which they have laid down, most of which have no better foundation, than the sophistry made use of to justify the outrages of the French Revolution. Nor do we propose to enter at large upon the subject of slavery and emancipation. Nor shall we attempt to ascertain, whether all the good that might, under any favourable circumstances, be accomplished, will follow the efforts that are now making by the Colonization Society. Our object is more definite: *to defend the Society in its great scheme of Colonization on the coast of Africa.* Here, as its humble advocate, we take our stand. It matters little what some may have said in praise, or others urged in condemnation; it must, after all, be sustained or abandoned, as this prominent object of the enterprise shall commend itself or not, to the good sense and enlightened conscience of the American people.

In the Address of the Anti-Slavery Society, this object is denounced as inefficient and injurious; not merely as a remedy, quite inadequate, but decidedly hostile to the best interests of the coloured population of the United States. In the Declaration it is alluded to as a *scheme of expatriation*, and pronounced *cruel, delusive, and dangerous.*

The advocates of immediate emancipation regard the Colonization Society as an obstacle in their way, they maintain that it soothes the conscience of the slave holder, and contents him in the enjoyment of slaves as property; and thus retards the advance of free principles.

At the threshold of this argument, we frankly admit, that if such were our deliberate conviction of the nature of this enterprise, we should be among the first to abandon it. But, on the contrary, we believe the measure to be beneficent in all its tendencies; that so far from encouraging slavery, it effectually rebukes it, and will lead the way to its final removal.

Let us calmly examine the scheme in its simplicity and singleness of

purpose. It proposes to colonize, with their own consent, the free people of colour. It is addressed, then, exclusively to the free: and our states abound with such. Holding no right or power of constraint, the Society offers its patronage and protection to all who may be willing to accept of these benefits, and emigrate to Liberia. Now, in the light of truth and Christian principles, is there a feature of such a plan, that should expose it to the charge of cruelty or oppression? Suppose the experiment were yet untried; might it not fairly put in its claims among the thousand adventures, to which benevolence, commerce and science prompt, in this day of enterprise? But it *has* been tried, to the satisfaction, contentment, and happiness of many hundreds of coloured men. And there are strong reasons which should persuade this people gladly to embrace the offer. However much we may condemn it, the fact is, that the free blacks in this country are in a degraded condition. They are a depressed and separate race; excluded from the privileges of freemen. They enjoy no share of our political, and but a small part of our social privileges. We have seen these causes in constant operation for many years; and however we may and ought to deplore it, yet the depression exists, and the lines of separation are as deep and palpable as ever.

If, as we find to be true, this class of our fellow men have not been able successfully to contend against all this unhappy influence, and rise above their condition; should not a safe and honorable retreat be provided? Let it be granted, that time and better feelings may, in thirty or fifty years, accomplish for them a partial deliverance; still in the interim, it is worth all the labours of philanthropy to provide a happy resting place, where they may fully enjoy the blessings of society, under a government of their own choice; and where neither prejudice, scorn, nor unkindness shall reach them. Yielding to the opposers all which they urge against the unchristian spirit that estranges from us our coloured brethren;—this should be the theme of just admonition to us, but forms no plea for casting hindrances in the way of the unhappy victims of these feelings, when they seek a refuge for themselves and their children.

Our first proposition is then, as we think, fairly drawn and fully sustained, that to the colonists, Liberia is a substantial blessing. Whether the prejudice which depresses the African in this country be cruel or just, a safe retreat from its frown should be hailed with thankfulness.

Here an objection meets us that deserves a distinct consideration. It is insisted, that the Colonization Society is itself an obstruction in the way of African elevation in this country; that it helps to maintain the distinction of colour, and seriously opposes the progress of emancipation.

After deep reflection on this charge, we must believe that it arises from a contracted view of the subject. It has not reached the great moral bearings of the question. We hope to show, among the direct and legitimate results of this enterprise, the elevation of the whole African race, not only in the United States, but throughout the earth.

This unhappy people in our free states are so spread over the land, and their condition is literally so obscure, that they make no distinct impression on the public mind. They are emphatically a people scattered and peeled: as a race of men, and in their condition, they are (so to speak) lost in the crowd. If we could embody them in one neighbourhood, even in all their wretchedness, that would promise more good for them, than their present state. Such a congregation would invite, and perhaps compel our attention; the object would stand out before us in some distinctive features. This Society now takes them out of the great mass, where the public eye cannot fix upon them; gives them a distinct existence, "a local habitation and a name;" and this, not as slaves, not as degraded hewers of wood and

drawers of water; but as freemen, pursuing all the business and fulfilling all the duties of a rational and christian community. We look on the map of the world for their dwelling place; we hear of them in their laws, their government and commerce; their citizens come amongst us, as men of trade and business. Who can fail to trace in such circumstances, some of the most powerful of moral causes? They must exert an influence that will be deeply felt.

Again: in this distinct community, the demonstration has been made, that the African is equal to the duties of a freeman. His mind expands, as his condition improves. This settlement pleads the cause of freedom with strong and constant emphasis. Its first effect is, to draw forth our sympathies for the black man, not as heretofore, and for long generations, a poor, oppressed and degraded being; but as the elevated citizen of a government, free as our own, favoured as our own, and by the blessing of God, destined to become as populous and great. These sympathies extend themselves over the whole race. Liberia stands the representative of all her people.—The most wretched tribe in Africa is raised to a more hopeful condition by this relation. The coloured man, over the whole earth, is reached by this elevating fellowship.

Nor is this all; scope is here afforded for an interesting comparison. The mind will trace it, and mark the contrast between the African at Liberia and his brother among ourselves. The master of slaves will almost unconsciously fall into a train of reflection, that will strikingly distinguish between the object being under his dominion, and his more favoured kinsman on the coast of Africa. And the plea will be heard and respected—"if the simple process of colonization thus brings out the long neglected functions of my fellow man, if I can thus enlarge his capacities for usefulness and happiness; wherefore shall I detain him from such exalted destiny? If I can thus add to the stock of human blessings; justice, reason, and conscience persuade me, that I should delight in the occasion." And such has been its silent operation. Emancipation has followed closely in the steps of this enterprise.—Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, all of them slave-holding states, have by decided manifestations of public sentiment commended and approved of the plans and objects of the Colonization Society. One of these states (Maryland) has devoted *two hundred thousand* dollars, and another (Virginia) *ninety thousand* dollars to the cause. Maryland has at this time an agency in Africa, to establish a colony at Cape Palmas, south of Liberia; and she avows, in distinct and unequivocal terms, the noble purpose of eradicating slavery from her soil.

Moreover, the degraded condition of this people in their own country, has heretofore been one of the palliatives employed to countenance the existence of slavery. And it was often urged, with great truth and effect.—Many of the Africans are, probably, improved by their translation to the kind care of humane and generous masters. The results of the Colony, have shorn this apology of all its strength. We no longer look upon Africa as one unbroken mass of ignorance and wretchedness. There are green spots that delight and refresh the eye of Philanthropy; and this Colony is one of them.

These take away the reproach of her desolateness, and raise an argument for her oppressed children, that will be heard and heeded to the ends of the earth. The proprietor of slaves can no longer compose his occasional disquietude, by the plausible pretext, that it fares better with his slaves, than it could at home. The Colony corrects his erroneous estimate. It spreads before him all its rich blessings; points him to a well ordered society, to its halls of legislation, its seats of judgment, and its temples of worship, all filled by *redeemed captives*, rejoicing in their privileges. It invites him to

look in upon its useful industry and extending commerce, upon its peaceful and hallowed Sabbaths, and its internal tranquillity; and persuades him, with an energy that no motives ever could before, to turn over a new page on this subject. These considerations have often prevailed with the owners of slaves. They regard the question not, as heretofore, in the light of dominion and property, but in the relations which man sustains to his fellow man.

Strange as this objection must appear to that happy community, that are now gratefully enjoying the fruits of this enterprise on the coast of Africa; yet it is gravely made, and often clamorously urged against the Society, that it seeks to banish our fellow men from the comforts of their native land, and cruelly consign them to the perils of a benighted continent.

In the first place, it should not be forgotten, that the Society treats alone with the *free*, and for freedom's sake. If our coloured brethren prefer to remain amongst us, let them, with our hearty good will. We compel no reluctant submission to terms. Or if any emigrants at Liberia, after full experiment, choose to return, be it so; there is no obstacle in the way.— Their welfare has prompted these labours, and should they reject the offers made to them; or after trial, experience none of these promised benefits; the Society has no duty left but that of sincere regret. It possesses neither the power nor the disposition to constrain consent. It is, therefore, a morbid illusion, that can detect any feature of harshness or cruelty in this plan. But to pause a moment longer at this point; what can there be of unkindness, in sending children home to the land of their fathers, and there nourishing them by the lights of science, religion, and liberty? And is not Africa such a home? It forms one of the atrocities of the slave trade, that it plunders the fireside of its inmates, and forces men from their home and country against the pleadings of nature and friendship. And when a just sense of contrition springs up in the mind, it is a healthful and moral dictate, that we should repair the trespass, by retracing our steps, and return the kidnapped children to the dwelling-place of their fathers. Let us not oppose this, with blind and inconsiderate hostility. As we would not mar a blessed scheme of mercy, let us calmly and soberly try its claims: and because we may not accomplish all the good that is desirable or practicable, let us not crush an agency that attempts, in some humble measure, to alleviate the miseries of so large a portion of our race.

This measure derives additional importance from some political considerations, with which it is identified. It is universally agreed, that by the principles of our confederation, the internal concerns of each state are left to its own exclusive cognizance and regulation, and the Federal Government cannot lawfully legislate on the subject of slavery, as it exists in the several states. Prior to the adoption of the federal constitution, the thirteen states were separate and independent governments. There was no political bond to which was given, by concession, the power of control. The state of Massachusetts, for instance, possessed no more right to interfere with the relations of master and slave in Carolina, than it had to interfere with the relation of prince and serf in Russia. When the Constitution was framed no such right was acquired, or could be obtained; and a subsequent provision was engrafted, which was merely declaratory of the necessary intentment of the instrument,—that all “powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.” The precise extent of these reserved rights has, in many particulars, been the subject of grave debate; but that they include the right of interfering in the relations of master and slave, no one has had the hardihood to pretend. Such terms as the states respectively chose to insist upon, must necessarily have been acceded to, or the whole compact remain inoperative; and at all events, the slaves of the

South, by its adoption, were placed in no worse situation than before, and in many respects much better. Nothing of an unkind or uncharitable character is attributable, therefore, to the Constitution, to those who framed, or to those who adopted it. Interests were contemplated and protected, in which our black population participated, and of which they are now reaping, slowly, but surely, the favourable fruits.

The Declaration of the Convention professes, indeed, to recognize the right of each state to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery, and concedes that Congress has no power to interfere with it in the slave states. This profession, however, is qualified by the assertion, that "Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound to suppress the domestic slave trade between the several states," and that the "highest obligations rest upon the people of the free states, to remove slavery by moral and *political action*, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States." What the *political action* is, which the Constitution PRESCRIBES for the removal of slavery, we are yet to learn; nor is it easy to imagine a federal principle adequate to that result, and at the same time compatible with the "sovereignty of each state to legislate *exclusively*" on the subject, and the disclaimer of any right of Congress, under the *present* national compact, to interfere with any of the slave states on this momentous subject. Congress has no power whatever to interfere in the matter of slavery, excepting only in two specified cases, viz:—first, within the District of Columbia; and secondly, in such cases as are expressly warranted by the clear terms of the Constitution. These terms do not, in any case, contemplate an inhibition of the transfer of slaves, from one territory to another, in both of which slavery is recognised by law.

In their ardour to reach the consummation of their purpose, the advocates of immediate abolition seem to shut their eyes upon all intervening obstacles. In pursuit of abstract right, they forget the more obvious duties that spring from the existing relations of society. The African race constitute at most but one-sixth of the population of the United States. And will it be said, that the harmony, peace and safety of five sixths of a community, shall be put to hazard for the contingent and doubtful advantage of the one-sixth. The postulate is, that "the slaves ought *instantly* to be set free."—This would, of course, preclude the idea of any preparatory measures to enable the slave, by the cultivation of intellect, to appreciate and enjoy the blessings of self-government. The scenes once enacted, and that too within the memory of the present generation, in the island of St. Domingo, depict but too fearfully the consequences of premature abolition.

The question is at issue, whether *immediate* emancipation shall be conferred upon a class of men, incapable of self-government, to the utter destruction of the lives and property of two and a half millions of white inhabitants; or whether the former shall await the march of events, and the progressive influences of philanthropy? But it is not two and a half millions of whites only, whose interests and happiness are involved. Eight millions more, north and west of the Potomac, are not only affected by, but distinctly included in the result. Twenty-four States, five-sixths of whose inhabitants are white, and who are knit together by a bond of political union, are threatened by this rash proposition, to be driven back to a state of anarchy, commotion and civil war. The very first overt act that shall be made in any one of the northern States to carry into effect the plans of those who oppose the Colonization enterprise, will probably result in a separation of the Union. The political fabrick erected with so much care, and at the expense of so many lives and so much treasure, will be prostrated in the dust. The institutions under which we have become a great and happy people will be subverted, and disaffection and hostility assume their place.

When, therefore, we are urged to the immediate abolition of slavery, the answer is very conclusive, that duty has no claims, where both the right and the power to exercise it are wanting. The door is shut upon us here: nor could we open it, but by a violence destructive of public harmony, and probably fatal to our national union.

But there is a vantage ground, where benevolence may expand in her broadest desires; and the Colonization Society presents it. Here the south and the north meet in kindred sympathy and cordial co-operation. We have seen with what liberality most of the southern States contribute to the treasury of the Society. It is an unfounded aspersion to ascribe their patronage to the sordid calculations of avarice, and the design of more firmly riveting the chains of slavery. To repel this ungracious imputation upon a generous people, we need only learn the fact, that the great majority of the colonists are emancipated slaves, liberated by southern owners. Some have been guilty of great injustice in the feelings they have cherished towards the south; and have declaimed against slavery, as if really, all Christian feeling, principle and duty, ranged on the north of the Delaware. There was never a greater or more humiliating mistake. Who can forget the time when all our fields were cultivated by the labour and toil of slaves? and why is it, that we are a few years ahead of the south in emancipation?—Simply because with us, the condition was so limited in its extent, that we could readily and safely compass it. We could without danger modify its tenure gradually relax the dominion of the master, and at length abolish it altogether. With our sister States, it is a monstrous incubus, never sought, but imposed upon them: and consummate prudence, and the best directed skill are requisite to manage and control it. *This cannot be the work of a day.* Such a forcing of abstractions, would be downright madness. This modern notion of rushing to the object, regardless of consequences, is a very simple, thorough process on paper. It would certainly save a great amount of thought, reflection and care. But it is a rash and dangerous spirit, which threatens ruin and devastation. We dare not trust it, because it regards neither time nor circumstances. What reply would this feverish temperament have returned, when the Roman soldiers made the interesting enquiry of the forerunner of our Saviour, "and what shall we do?"—These were the soldiers of a military and iron-hearted despotism. On the principles that assail the Colonization Society, the response would surely have enjoined upon them immediate desertion from such service, and a firm resistance of every measure, that would strengthen a tyranny over the free and equal rights of the people. And yet, in place of this, the great preacher, who was preparing the way before his Lord and Master, counselled, in far milder strains of heavenly wisdom: "Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely, and *be content with your wages.*" Did the gospel, therefore, justify war, or sanction despotism? Far otherwise. It was introduced at a time, when such was the state of the Roman people, and addressed its injunctions and promises to men, as it found them. It did not propose violently to demolish "the swords and the spears;" but to change them "into plough-shares and pruning hooks;" and this requires labour, skill and pains, matters too sluggish for the wild on rushing of fanaticism.

Before we conclude this paper, we beg a moment's further attention to the probable influence of the colony upon the native tribes of Africa. And here the subject rises to an elevation and takes hold of interests, that might well engage an angel's thought. A whole continent of sixty millions of immortal beings, sunk in ignorance and sin, sends up a cry for redemption. If philanthropy had now for the first time directed its concern towards this unhappy people, and was seeking for the most effective agency, we venture to affirm, that among its earliest measures, would be that of a Christian set-

element among them, and above all, one of their own colour and kindred. Such a community, planted in the neighbourhood of an ignorant race, and exhibiting before them all the civil, religious and social duties and relations, in full subsistence and operation, will exert a moral influence in extent and duration beyond our calculations. It opens a perennial fountain, that will send forth a thousand streams of salvation. These will strike their channels into every famishing waste, will make glad the wilderness, and cause the deserts to sing for joy.

Liberia sustains these hopeful relations, and justifies all these animating prospects. Much has already been done. The native tribes look on and wonder. They behold their countrymen enjoying all the blessings of the most favoured nation. They may not at once apprehend the cause of the difference; but they see it, and feel it, and will very soon learn the reason, and teach it to others. The report of the colony will travel forth from tribe to tribe, waking up the sympathies of a long neglected and forsaken people. Her coasts will soon be lined by Christian settlements, which will gradually invade the interior regions of darkness and pollution. The African missionary from Liberia, will meet his Christian brother from the Cape of Good Hope, and they mingle in prayer and praise together. The light will spread from mountain to valley, and from river to river, until the sleep of ages shall be broken, and the song of salvation fill the chorus of a redeemed and regenerated continent. Then will Africa's first tribute of praise ascend to God, the gracious giver of all these mercies; and next, will the blessing of many ready to perish come upon the Colonization Society.

These benefits, form, as we think, a full defence for the friends of this great measure. We commend this brief and imperfect sketch, to the dispassionate consideration of our fellow citizens. A cause which, in its early stages, engaged so much of piety and prayer; which has been distinguished by so many illustrious tokens of divine approbation, should not be pushed aside by prejudice or clamour. We should be slow to believe, that such pure spirits as Mills, Finley and Ashmun, that such exalted statesmen as Washington, Marshall and Lafayette, would give the countenance of their names, or devote the anxious labour of their lives, to a device of cupidity, or a scheme of oppression.

### SPECIAL REPORT.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, February 20th, 1834, WALTER LOWRIE, Esq. from the Committee to whom the subject had been referred, made the following report, which was read and considered by the Board, and *unanimously adopted*:—

*The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, to the People of the United States.*

At the late Annual Meeting of the Society, the following resolution was adopted:—

*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers be directed to lay before the Public, through the African Repository, a full and detailed statement of the origin, rise, and present condition of the Society's Debt, having particular reference to the causes and manner of its rise and increase; the times at which it has been incurred; the individuals to which it was originally and is now due, and for what, in every case; together with every circumstance, within the reach of their inquiries, here and in Africa, which can throw any light on this subject."

In order to meet, as well the views of the Society as expressed in this resolution, as the just and proper expectations of the public in reference to the

expenditure of the funds heretofore bestowed by the friends of the Institution, the Managers have found it necessary to review the proceedings of the Society for the last four years, during which period the debt of the Society has been incurred. In connection with this object, they have also deemed it a suitable occasion to exhibit distinctly various other most important subjects not specially mentioned in the resolution, but which are of vital interest to the future welfare of the trust committed to them.

In the result of their examination which they now lay before the public, the Managers explicitly state that they have no concealments. In regard to the facts which are here embodied, they pledge themselves that the statement contains the truth and the whole truth. In the discharge of the high trust committed to them, the Managers could at no time have any interest exclusively personal. Some of their number are at present in the Board for the first time, and some have been for years engaged in the direction of its affairs. Some of their former associates, men distinguished for every thing that ennobles the human mind, are now no more; but their virtues and their example will long live in the memory of all who knew them. In no instance has there been any compensation received by the Managers for their services; and the time devoted to the interests of the Society does often interfere most seriously with their private concerns, and most generally it is the only time, which their professional and other engagements allow them for the enjoyment of their domestic relations. They believe, with the other friends of the Society, that the importance of the trusts committed to them, calls for sacrifices on their part; but having assumed these duties, they admit their full responsibility to the public for the manner in which they have been, or shall be discharged. In assuming this responsibility, they can have no object but the promotion of the best interest of the Institution. If, therefore, any mistakes or errors have been made, they are most anxious that these mistakes or errors should be corrected, by any light which experience or additional information may afford; and if any shall occur in future, they will at all times be ready to apply the proper correction.

The Managers, with the other friends of the Society, believe that the cause in which they are engaged, is full of the richest blessings, both to their own beloved country, and to Africa. But if in this, they are mistaken—if their object be not a just object—if it be not based upon truth—if it cannot be supported by the prayers and exertions of good men—if, in short, it be not such a cause as God will approve, they say with one voice, the sooner it comes to nought the better; let it perish, and let the charities for its support take another and a better direction. But the convictions of its friends lead them to no such conclusion. To plant a Colony of free colored men on the land of their fathers, is no longer an experiment. Neither can it be denied, that the tendency of this benevolent enterprise is to elevate their moral and physical condition—to suppress the slave trade—to enlighten and civilize Africa, and to remove positive impediments to the free exercise of the right to emancipate slaves, either by particular States, which may be deemed by the people thereof to have sufficiently approximated a condition of society, rendering such a measure necessary or expedient, or by individual proprietors, in whom the legal right has always existed; to both of whom the difficulty of assigning an appropriate place and station to the freed men of colour, of presenting them a fair field for the exertion of their faculties, and for attaining the destined ends of social man, in harmony with the social and political relations of the community, has always been a source of serious embarrassment and perplexity; a difficulty solved to the great advantage of all parties, by a scheme of Colonization, wisely planned, and resolutely and prudently conducted. It has always been left to the unbiassed consideration of all, who, from the individual

habits and tendencies of thinking and feeling, may be variously affected by the diversified yet consistent motives of general or particular benevolence, or of civil prudence, which may be supposed to actuate the promoters of the scheme, to form their various estimates of the relative value and cogency of those motives; but this Society has never ceased to hope that the combined effect of them all must ultimately unite the wise and good in its support. The blessing of Heaven has too signally rested upon the efforts heretofore made, to leave any just ground of apprehension for the future.

From the year 1820, the receipts and expenditures, and the number of emigrants, in each year, have been as follows:—

YEARS.	RECEIPTS.	EXPENDITURES.	EMIGRANTS.
1820-2	\$5,627 66	\$3,785 79	390
" '23	4,798 02	6,766 17	
" '24	4,879 89	3,851 42	
" '25	10,125 85	7,543 88	
" '26	14,779 24	17,316 94	
" '27	13,294 94	13,901 74	781
" '28	18,458 17	17,077 12	
" '29	19,795 61	18,487 84	
" '30	26,583 51	17,637 32	
" '31	27,999 15	28,068 15	
" '32	40,365 08	51,644 22	790
" '33	37,242 46	35,637 54	108
			2769

It is not deemed important in this communication, to give in detail all the distinct objects of expenditure; but it is necessary to a clear and satisfactory exposition, that the leading items of expense should be specifically stated.

In the United States these have consisted of

Salary of the Secretary,	\$1,250
Assistant Secretary (for last year),	1,000
Treasurer and Clerk,	750
Postage of Letters,	150
Office Rent,	200
Printing and Stationary (average),	1,890
Agents in different States,	1,356
Fuel and other contingencies,	120
	<u>\$6,716</u>

#### IN LIBERIA.

Colonial Agent,	\$2,400
Paid by the United States Government,	1,600
Colonial Physician,	1,500
Secretary,	600
All other salaried Officers,	4,220
	<u>\$7,120</u>

The Agent and Physicians receive also subsistence from the Colonial stores.

This may be called the expense of the Civil List, in the administration of the Colony in the United States and in Liberia.

Here, it may be proper to remark, that most of these Colonial salaries were not created by the Board, and whatever may have been the necessity heretofore, when the Colony was in an infant state, the Managers now consider most of the salary officers in the Colony to be unnecessary. The measures which they have adopted on this branch of the subject, will be found in another part of this communication.

The expenditures in the United States, besides those for the civil list, have been, for collecting emigrants for their embarkation—for subsistence

till their arrival—for provisions, subsistence and Colonial stores, sent from the United States for their support for six months after their arrival in Liberia—for charter of vessels, freight and transportation—for medicines, surgical instruments, arms, warlike stores and armed vessels; and also, for the maintenance of three medical students.

The expenditures of the Colony, besides those for the civil list, have been, for the support of public schools, for buildings, presents to native Kings, fortifications, purchase of territory, expense of court house and jail, opening roads, and the founding of new settlements.

It was at all times the desire of the Board, that all the expenses at the Colony should be paid by the Agent, either from the sale of articles from the Colonial stores, or by cash in his hand. The ruinous practice of purchasing provisions from the merchants in Liberia on credit, and paying for them from time to time, by drafts on the Board, was never for one moment contemplated, except in cases of peculiar and rare contingency; and yet, owing to adverse circumstances of the last two years, this very practice has been the principal cause of the present embarrassment in the finances of the Society.

It will be seen that the number of emigrants sent out during the years 1830, '1, '2 and '3, was 1598; and, to meet their expenses at the Colony, it appears from the Society's books, supplies were furnished and sent out amounting to \$40,946 63. In addition to this amount, the drafts on the Board have been \$32,939 15, making the entire charge on the funds of the Institution \$73,885 78, for these four years, exclusive of the civil list in the United States, support of medical students, collecting emigrants, charter of vessels, freight, and transportation.

The sum of \$40,946 63, vested as it was in Colonial stores and provisions, was deemed sufficient for all the expenses of the Colony. The highest estimate made by the Colonial Agent, was at all times less than twenty dollars for the support of each emigrant after his arrival. Estimating that sum for each, the 1598 emigrants would require for their support \$31,960, leaving a balance of \$8,986 63 for the civil list and other expenditures at the Colony. This balance was in Colonial stores, and worth, in Liberia, at least \$12,000. This sum was evidently too small for the payment of the civil list in the Colony for four years, and for the other expenditures, for objects of a permanent character. The purchase of additional territory, the founding the Colony at Grand Bassa, and the purchase of the Agency House from the United States, were objects of a permanent nature; and, taken together, tended much to increase the debt against the Society. As a matter of course, drafts from the Colony, to some extent, were necessary to meet this deficit. In the purchase of the supplies sent to the Colony, the Board had incurred a debt in the United States of \$11,708 97.

In thus extending the operations of the Society, in advance of their means, the Board, it is believed, fell into an error. But it arose, in a great measure, from the want of full and precise information. Additional light would have prevented the outfit of so many expeditions in 1832. The object of the Board was undoubtedly praiseworthy; their accounts from the Colony, throughout 1832, were most encouraging. Emigrants offered themselves, and liberated slaves were offered, in greater numbers than the means of the Board would enable them to send to the Colony. Many friends of the cause urged the Board to give more vigor to their operations; and expressed the opinion that the public liberality would sustain them in their efforts to increase the numbers of the Colony. This desire to extend and enlarge the beneficial operations of the Society, to the number who were waiting and anxious to go to Liberia, induced the Board to incur responsibilities, both in the United States and at the Colony, which, in the most favorable circumstances, would have left a heavy balance against them.

Although a resort to drafts, to some extent, was foreseen by the Board, yet, from the general and favorable information received from the Agent, they could not have anticipated such frequent and heavy drafts as were made upon them. The Agent, though frequently written to, did not always furnish them with the necessary details. Hence, the Board were not aware of the ruinous debts that were accumulating against them at the Colony. When the drafts were presented, they were at a loss to know whether to accept them for payment or refuse. Fearing, however, the effect of the return of the drafts to the Colony, the Board did accept them in the absence of the accounts and estimates. In this, also, the Board may have erred, although, under all the circumstances, it is not clear that it was an error: they were reduced, as in several other instances, to a choice of evils, under circumstances that rendered it extremely difficult to determine how the balance of evils turned. In future, however, it is their determination, so to arrange the business, that a resort to drafts shall be unnecessary, unless under special circumstances.

Since the Annual Meeting of the Society, the Board have, with great care, examined the expenditures at the Colony, for the last four years; but this examination has not been satisfactory in its result. The loose state of the accounts, their want of system, the long period in which accounts with the merchants at the Colony have been accumulating, without knowledge on the part of the Board—the absence, to some extent, of vouchers, or suitable explanations, for many items, and the general want of care and economy, are painful results to which their examinations have led them. To this, must also be added, the secondary attention bestowed on the encouragement of education and agriculture at the Colony; both of which the friends of the Society have so much at heart. It is due, however, to the Agent to state, that a great part of the time, he was laboring under the want of health; that his duties were at all times laborious; that his services, in many respects, have been of great value; and that he has returned to the bosom of his friends in a weak state of health. It is due to him also to state, which the Board do with great pleasure, that in no one instance does it appear, that any improper considerations of personal emolument for one moment influenced his conduct. On the contrary, he is now a creditor of the Board, for a part of his compensation.

In the examination of the accounts for articles purchased in Liberia, at a large advance upon the original cost, there is no evidence that either ship-masters or colonial merchants asked or received more than the current market price of such articles.

Other causes, however, and those which no human foresight could have provided for, tended greatly to increase the debt against the Society. The failure to a great extent, of the rice crop, the vast demand for it from the Cape de Verd Islands, and the dependence on the Society, beyond the usual time, of many families afflicted with sickness, all tended greatly to increase the expense. In these visitations of Divine Providence, the Board would desire to feel how much the blessing of God is needed in all their affairs; and without that blessing, how vain are all their efforts.

The amount of such debts of the Society as have been accepted or settled by the Board, including the sum of \$5,705 41, falling due in March and May next, is \$36,635 40  
To which must be added various claims before the Board, not yet settled, and which may be subject to some deduction, 2,955 00

In addition to this, various evidences of debt, held by individuals in the Colony, have been purchased by another individual, and presented for payment. These claims have not been passed upon by the Board; they are payable at the Colony, are not transferred by any assignment to the present holder, and may be subject to deduction. They amount to 6,055 32

\$45,645 72

Immediately after the reorganization of the Board, various measures of reform, after the most careful consideration, received their final decision.

The first in importance of these measures, was to enlarge the powers of the Colonial Council. This the colonists had desired, and their wishes were fully acceded to by the Board. They have now power, subject to the approval of the Board, to make their own laws and regulations, lay and collect taxes, appoint such officers as they judge proper, and provide for the payment of such salaries as may be designated from the colonial treasury.— This measure, whilst it shows the confidence of the Board in the ability of the colonists for self-government, relieves also, the Society from the heavy item of expense incurred by the salaries of officers, many of them not of much importance to the interests of the Colony. This measure alone, will relieve the funds of the Society from an annual demand of nearly \$5,000. Such officers as the Colonial Legislature may establish, will be responsible to them, and dependent on them for compensation, and thus a faithful discharge of duty will be at once ensured, and the Colony advanced a step nearer to the point where the Society will leave them entirely to self-government.

Various other measures of deep interest to the Colony were adopted, and which may be seen in the resolutions of the Board, published in the *African Repository*. The Board have also published a most interesting letter, politely furnished to them by the Secretary of the Navy, from Capt. Voorhees, of the United States Navy, giving a clear and detailed account of the present condition of the Colony. For the kindness and attention of this gentleman, to their infant settlement, he has the thanks of every member of the Board, as they are sure he has of all the friends of the cause in the United States.

The care and promotion of the health of the colonists have at all times engaged the most serious attention of the Board. The unusual sickness of the last year, whilst it has been to the friends of the Society a subject of deep and painful interest, has received from the Board that consideration which its vital importance demands. However painful the truth, they are constrained to say, that at times the Colony has suffered from the want of sufficient medical assistance; and much of the mortality in the last year has arisen from this cause. Heretofore it has been impossible for the Board to meet the wants of the Colony on this point. During the last year, the ordinary provision in the medical department was in a great measure suspended by the ill health of the physicians, and their return to the United States. This state of things must no longer continue. The friends of the cause hold the remedy in their hands; and human life is too precious, for that remedy to be longer delayed. To meet the present wants of the Colony, another physician will be immediately sent out, and he will be followed during the summer, by two of the medical students of the Board, now far advanced in their medical studies, and both promising and intelligent young men. These arrangements will give a temporary relief, but measures of a more permanent character are demanded to ensure, at all times, the advantages of scientific medical assistance. The Board have therefore turned their attention to the establishment of a high school at Liberia. The very existence of such a school there, would give character to the place, and elevate and cheer the hopes of the colonists. To this school all the various branches of higher education might in due season be added; and thus, by placing the means of education in the reach of the native youth, the highest inducement would be held out to them, to avail themselves of its advantages. The moral effect on the Colony, of such a measure, would soon be felt, both there and in the United States. The citizen of Liberia can now proudly say—I have no superior here. He could then with equal truth say—My country has that within her bosom, which will enable my children to say, We have no superior upon earth.

To ascertain therefore whether this measure will meet the approbation and receive the encouragement of the friends of the cause, the Board have decided to devote such contributions, as may be specifically made for the high school in Liberia, exclusively to that object; to be expended in the first instance for medical instruction, and as the means are afforded, to extend to and embrace all the other necessary branches of science. The New-York Colonization Society have already decided to establish a high school in Liberia, principally for the education of teachers; and the Massachusetts Colonization Society have decided to establish there a free school, and have appropriated funds to its aid. These decisions are in some measure similar to that now proposed. The Board of Managers respectfully submit to these and other friends of this great object, whether an entire union of effort be not desirable, if not essential, to complete success? Some time since, a donation of \$2,000, for this specific purpose, was made by Henry Sheldon, Esq. of New-York, and one of \$500 by the Hon. Charles F. Mercer. This Board are not tenacious of conducting this measure, if any plan can be suggested by which it can be carried on, by united effort, without their agency. But it is such a leading feature in their policy, for future operations, and has such a deep bearing upon the health, the moral elevation and prospects of the Colony, and is so connected with other designs, that, for this Board to leave it out of their plan for the advancement of the Colony, would be for them to act on arrangements unsatisfactory and incomplete.

These general views are intended to draw the attention of its friends to the best mode of carrying this measure into effect. The Board invite the expression of their views and wishes, and most cordially will they co-operate in any plan, that may finally be found the best, for the establishment and endowment of a High School in Liberia, commensurate with the wants of that community.

In connexion with this subject, and second to no other consideration, is the religious instruction of the Colony. Unless the blessings of the Gospel accompany the other efforts, all will be in vain. The wants of Africa are great; she is even now literally stretching out her hands to the churches in the United States, and saying "Come over and help us." To some extent, this call has been answered; and the Board rejoice in the cheering thought, that two of our most respectable religious communities have each sent a mission to the neighborhood of the Colony. Beautiful indeed are the feet of these self-denying men, carrying the messages of light and truth, of love and mercy, to the dark and benighted shores of Africa. These two missions number five able, educated, talented, and devoted men. With no compensation but their personal support—their efforts, their learning, their zeal, and their lives, are given to the regeneration and mental elevation of those who are sitting in the moral region and valley of the shadow of Death. Nor has the other sex refused to share in those labors of love and mercy. Four females, of educated and cultivated minds, and endearing moral worth, have gone with their husbands and friends, to share with them in the work of cultivating the moral wastes of long deserted, forsaken, despised and bleeding Africa. With one of these missions a colored man went, as an assistant missionary. The Board hope the time is not distant, when many of his pious countrymen will follow his noble example, and join him in the land of their forefathers, in shedding abroad the light of truth. The Board rejoice in the establishment of these missions on the borders of the Colony. Their friends at home may rest assured, that every thing in the power of the Board that can be done, to promote the interests of those missions, shall be done.

But whilst the Board would take encouragement from every mission established in Western Africa, it is their duty to bring to the notice of the

churches at home, that, to the Colony itself, they are not informed that any missionary has yet been sent. The Board would respectfully, but most earnestly, call the attention of the religious denominations and the missionary societies, to these inviting fields. Here, in truth, they are whitened for the harvest, and the harvest itself is great, but the laborers are few. Additional and more substantial buildings, for public worship, are also required. To provide the three thousand inhabitants already there, and the increasing thousands who will soon be there, with plain but convenient and substantial houses for the worship of the Living God, the churches in our own highly favored country have but to act upon the subject, and the work is done.—The proper duty of the Board does not embrace this object, but they pledge themselves to promote it, by affording every facility for the transmission of funds; by the countenance and support of their agents at the Colony; and by the donation of suitable ground, wherever it has not been previously disposed of.

The Board cannot leave this branch of the subject, without also presenting the wants of their infant Colony to the American Sunday School Union, and the American Tract Society. From the American Bible Society they have repeatedly received supplies of Bibles; and the Board are confident that all these honored institutions, so truly national in their character, will regard with interest this Colony of Pilgrims, just leaving the land of their own birth to re-possession the land of their ancestors.

The founders of the American Colonization Society were too well acquainted with the magnitude of the undertaking—they were too well acquainted with the history of similar undertakings in past times, to calculate on continuing this noble enterprise without meeting with discouragements and trials, requiring all the energies of its friends to sustain the cause. If misfortunes have attended the early progress of all new colonies, can we reasonably expect, out of rude materials, and with limited means, to found a Colony which shall stand alone in the experience of an uninterrupted prosperity? At this time, the Managers will not disguise the fact, that the affairs of the Society have come to a crisis. On one side, the Institution has been assailed, in terms which they will not repeat, as being friendly to the continuance of slavery. On the other side, fears are expressed that this Institution is an Abolition Society, and nothing more. It is out of place here to answer these contradictory objections. The Managers will at present content themselves by saying that both these charges are equally without foundation.—The Society, acting under its Constitution, as its Board of Managers have often said, has but a single object in view, which is to build up a Colony in Africa, of free colored men, sent there with their own consent.

Another and very prominent element of discouragement exists in the present state of the funds of the Society. On this point the Board have exhibited all the facts, and the friends of the Institution know the worst. But while the Board refer to the difficulties with which the Colonization cause is surrounded, they respectfully submit, that, taking the whole into consideration, there is no serious ground for discouragement. Having truth on its side, the attacks of its enemies will leave the cause uninjured; and a rigid and economical administration of its funds will in a short time relieve it from embarrassment.

In regard to the funds of the Society, it is the duty of the Board to be explicit, and to state clearly their future course. It is their intention, as it is clearly their duty, as fast as their ability will permit, to liquidate all their debts, by the application of every sum, above what may be necessary to keep the Colony from going backwards. The Colony must be sustained by all necessary supplies; the cause of education, and the cause of agriculture there, cannot, will not, be neglected.

There is one measure adopted by the Board, which, if successful, will relieve the funds of the Society from all present embarrassment, and leave its current receipts to be applied to the great objects of building up and improving the Colony.

The debts of the Institution, as already stated, amount to \$45,645 72. To meet the just claims of the creditors, the Board propose the creation of a stock of \$50,000, bearing an interest of 6 per cent. payable annually. For the payment of the interest annually, and the gradual payment of the principal, it is proposed to establish a sinking fund of \$6,000 per annum. To this fund they will pledge the first proceeds of all their legacies, donations, and contributions. Should this plan meet the approbation of the friends of the Society, and the stock be all taken up, the funds of the Board would at once be relieved, and the payment of the whole stock, with its interest, would, in less than twelve years, be redeemed by the annual payment of \$6,000. Should the funds of the Society be sufficient, the whole may be paid in a shorter period. The measures of economy already matured by the Board will annually save nearly that sum. To the creditors of the Board, they submit whether certificates of this stock would not be better than the present evidences of debt in their possession. Unless this stock be taken up by the friends and creditors of the Board, it is quite uncertain when it will be possible for the Board to make payment, however desirous to free themselves from all embarrassments. Until, therefore, the Board know whether this measure will be sustained, their operations for the future must depend on the following contingencies.

On the supposition that this stock will not be taken up, the Board, then, can only continue the colony in its present condition. In their exertions to pay their debts, they believe it is their solemn duty to take care that the colony do not retrograde. On this contingency, the ordinary receipts will, in time, relieve their finances, and then the Colony will again take its forward march.

But, on the other and brighter result, the Board would at once be able to discharge existing obligations, and thus be left at liberty to devote all their means to the prosperity of the Colony.

In that event, the Board will distinctly state what are their intentions and their views.

1st. Experience has demonstrated that the utmost care is necessary in the selection of emigrants. It is now the deliberate decision of the Board, to send none to the Colony until those of suitable age are formed into temperance societies. From this, they will in no instance depart. In accordance with these principles, a careful inquiry shall be instituted into the moral character and industrious habits of each adult emigrant. With such materials for colonists, there will be no risk in sending whatever number the means of the Board will justify.

2d. All measures for the promotion of a complete system of education, will claim from the Board their constant and unremitting attention. On this subject, vital as it is to the best interests of the Colony, the Board are cheered with the knowledge of the fact, that their able co-laborers of the New-York State Colonization Society, have already decided "to assist in laying the foundation, and rearing the structure, of a complete system of education within the limits of Liberia." Most cheerfully will this Board co-operate with them, and with all other friends of the measure, in carrying forward this great enterprise.

3d. Since their re-organization, the Board have adopted various measures for the promotion of Agriculture. From various circumstances, not always under the control of the Board, the cultivation of the soil has heretofore been too much neglected. The importance of this interest to the Colony is ad-

mitted by all, and from the Board it shall receive constant and continued care and encouragement.

4th. Having these prominent and vital principles constantly in view, it will be the untiring effort of the Board to make Liberia a desirable home for the free man of color. To this class we address no argument to induce them to leave the United States. We have no entreaties to offer. We trust, in a short time, that facts will supersede the use of arguments, and an enlightened self-interest render all entreaties unnecessary. We say distinctly, we want none to go there but men and women of good morals, of industrious habits, and friends and members of the temperance cause. As far as we have the power, we will permit none of a different character to go. We express our deliberate judgment that, by carrying out these principles, Liberia will soon become a desirable home for the free colored man; and that, so soon as it becomes so, he will go there, in most cases, at his own expense.

But, whether the plan for the issue of stock succeed or not, it is absolutely necessary that former contributions be continued, and even increased. To all the friends of the cause, the Board would present the subscription list so nobly commenced and patronized by that distinguished friend to the cause, GERRIT SMITH. They do earnestly entreat all their Auxiliary Societies to make an effort to advance the noble cause in which they are laboring with us. The Board would also most respectfully request all the Churches to take up collections on the day sacred to the freedom of our beloved country, in aid of an enterprise which carries with it blessings so rich and so great. To their Female friends, the Board are confident the appeal will not be in vain. Already has their beneficent example, in cherishing this sacred cause, given health and encouragement to all the efforts of its friends. A general effort is all that is wanting to advance the interests of the Institution onward to that high ground it is yet destined to occupy.

In conclusion, the Managers believe that the success and final triumph of the Colonization cause, under the blessing of Heaven, rest now with its friends. The Board are perfectly willing to leave it there. For themselves, they are not discouraged. Acting on the principles contained in this exposition, and availing themselves of the aids of past experience, they believe that the present crisis will pass away and leave their enterprise uninjured; and above all, they would look for, and rest upon, the blessing of Heaven, which, heretofore, has been so richly experienced.

By order:

JAMES LAURIE, *President, pro tem.*

R. R. GURLEY, *Secretary.*

#### LETTER FROM GERRIT SMITH, ESQ.

PETERBORO, N. Y. MARCH 1, 1834.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—You will please hand the above check of \$1,000 to the Treasurer of our Society. It is the first instalment on my late subscription to the proposed fund of \$50,000. I send it in advance of its due time of payment, because I am aware that the Society is in great present need of help. As the money pressure continues to be so great, it is to be regretted that we did not take to ourselves more than sixty days for getting the subscription to this fund filled up. It will be filled up, however, I trust, in the course of the spring; and although, according to the terms of the resolution, under which they subscribe, the subscribers will not be liable to pay, if the 60 days be overrun; yet I have no doubt that they will pay

just as readily as if the form of the subscription were absolute. There are already more than fifty subscriptions on the plan started a few years since, of obtaining 100 subscribers of \$1000 each; and I believe that there is no case of the fifty, where the instalments have not been kept up; and, in several of the cases, the whole amount of the subscription has been advanced. The subscriptions on this plan were not to be obligatory, unless the \$100,000 were subscribed; and yet we find that none of the subscribers have been disposed to avail themselves of this contingency. Nor may we suppose, that the subscribers to the proposed fund of \$50,000, will be less generous. Why should they be? Or does not the Colonization Society deserve to be loved and to be helped as much now as it did formerly? In my poor judgment, it is much more entitled to our support now, than it ever was at any former period. The Society has now, with the help of its friends and its foes, and in the school of its own experience, found out its faults. It is fast correcting these faults. It is adopting more judicious systems of operations, the leading elements of which are, an economical use of its means, and a strong christian love towards that class of people, who constitute the objects of the Society's regard. If our Society had always loved this oppressed, and therefore debased class of people, as, I trust, it will hereafter love them; if it had always thought more of ministering to their relief, than of conferring real or imaginary benefits on the white population of our country, and of indulging the wicked prejudices of that population; then would our Society have been, at this day, incalculably more prosperous than it now is; then would it have been dear to the free coloured people, instead of being, as, with too much justice it now is, an object of their jealousy. It is idle for our Society to think of accomplishing its plans, until it has the confidence of that people. But it will no sooner have this confidence, than its prosperity will be, and so also its blessings to that unhappy people will be, without limits. Let it, my friend, be our unwavering and religiously pursued policy, to create a happy and a christian home in Africa, for those of our free people of colour, who choose to go to it; and doubt not, that the attractions of such a home will be sufficient to draw from our shores, at least as many of this race as will be needed to establish, in the benighted land of their fathers, the principles of the gospel, and of our free institutions. Remember too, that those who appreciate, and are drawn thither by those attractions, give, in that very fact, abundant evidence of possessing the sound moral character, which we need to have all our emigrants possess: whilst, on the other hand, those whom we send there, may carry with them habits fraught with ruin to our settlements.

I regret to see by the newspapers, that there is a general impression that there has been a great waste of the funds of the Society. The impression is very erroneous; and I most lament it, because it does great and cruel injustice to the gentlemen, who, in the capacity of Managers of the Society, have rendered (many of them through periods of twelve to seventeen years) so large an amount of faithful and gratuitous services to the Society. These gentlemen are certainly far better entitled to thanks for their unpaid services in this cause of humanity, than to imputations on their judgment and integrity. It is good, however, for them to be often taught by the ingratitude of their fellow men, to look above for all their reward. In looking over the accounts of the Society, when I was last in Washington, I could see that, in some instances, there might have been, by a different procedure, considerable sums saved; but I was principally enabled to see this, by the light of that experience which the Managers now have, and which will guard them against a recurrence of similar losses. I have, however, no doubt, that, not only from the valuable stock of experience which the Board now possess; but still more from the business habits of several gentle-

men who were added to the Board at our late meeting, the friends of Colonization may safely look for a very great improvement in the management of the pecuniary affairs of the Society. Among the acting members of the old Board, there were not enough gentlemen of such habits: and we have all come to learn, that, in the direction of our great benevolent institutions, no amount of talent and piety will supply the lack of business habits.

I regret also to find, that some of the friends of our Society, are frightened by the debt of 40,000, that we owe. Let them but consider the share, which the Society proposes to have in renovating Africa and in blessing the people of our own land; and they will not continue to believe, that so inconsiderable an obstacle as a debt of \$40,000, will long be suffered to stand in the way of our progress. The good which the friends of God and man have in view, in their support of the Colonization Society, would make the removal of far greater obstacles to the accomplishment of that good, appear but a small undertaking.

I hope you are finding leisure to finish your *Life of Ashmun*. A copy of your life of that great and good man should be in the hands of every man who cares for Africa, or her outcast children amongst us.

With great regard, your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

REV. R. R. GURLEY.

#### LETTER FROM HON. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN.

WASHINGTON, MARCH 15, 1834.

DEAR SIR:—Enclosed, I send my annual subscription to your Society on Mr. G. Smith's plan: and I take peculiar satisfaction in giving this proof of my undiminished confidence in the plans and prospects of this benignant enterprise. With other friends of the Society, I was, at first, surprised by the developments of its pecuniary embarrassments, at the late annual meeting. But when the Report of the Managers explained the causes of these difficulties, my mind was relieved. It has been one of those adverse incidents which occur in every department of life; and instead of discouraging, should serve to animate us to greater zeal, and above all, to lead us to more humble dependence on the blessing of Him, without whose smiles, all efforts will be vain.

I am glad that you have fully and frankly spread your whole condition before the christian public. It will respond to your ingenuous course, with augmented confidence. I have no doubt that the Society will date this crisis as a new era in its history; at which, fresh impulses were imparted to its schemes of benevolence, and when large accessions of numbers to its patrons and amount to its resources, rapidly succeeded the temporary clouds that passed over it.

The debt of \$10,000, which seems, to our opponents, to be so portentous, they may be assured, will be found of no serious moment. It will call up the friends of the Society to stand by it in this hour of its need; and I altogether mistake the principles and spirit of those friends, if a thousand channels of supply are not open, and this fountain of beneficence be not filled to overflowing.

With great respect, Dear Sir,

Truly your's,

THEO. FRELINGHUYSEN.

JOSEPH GALES, Sen. Esq.

Treasurer Am. Col. Society.

# LETTER FROM CAPTAIN VOORHEES, OF THE UNITED STATES' NAVY.

UNITED STATES' SHIP JOHN ADAMS,

*Cape Montserado, Liberia, December 14, 1833.*

SIR, I have this day the honor to report having carried into execution, conformably to my instructions, the various orders intrusted to my charge on our homeward bound route from the Mediterranean.

We arrived at the anchorage, in the bay of Montserado, on the evening of the 9th. Piracy has not afflicted this quarter for some time; and the inhabitants at the settlements, living in undisturbed peace and tranquillity, seem to entertain very encouraging confidence in their future security. The place, however, is not as secure as its importance demands; neither is it free from the want of many necessaries. A small fort is requisite for the defence of Monrovia, and the entrance of the harbor of the Montserado; both these objects may be attained in constructing it on an excellent position afforded by a commanding eminence near the margin of the river. The protection of the anchorage in the bay, also requires a small fort, on the height of the Cape, to secure the shipping against piracy. A few guns are now mounted there, on old defective carriages, answering a temporary purpose; but previous to this, I have been informed some American and British vessels were plundered whilst lying at their anchors. And subsequently to these guns being mounted at the Cape, some attempts were again made, it is supposed, with a view to plunder, but a brisk fire being opened from the heights, had the desired effect—since which the shipping has continued unmolested.

The vessels to this place, together with their several calls during the present year, amount to about ninety in number, many of them foreign, as well as American, of which I have herewith the honor to transmit a list. Materials, such as various implements or tools for the use of mechanics, sail-cloth, cordage, copper sheathing, copper bolts, copper spikes and nails, varnish, tar, pitch, paints, paint oil, variously assorted for all sorts of buildings and repairs, are very seriously wanted in a small way. Also, a few large sized six or eight oared carvil-built boats. Many applications were made to me for indispensable articles, the want of which precluded some of these people, in a manner, from employment, and from attending to their necessary occupations; but, being deficient in almost every thing, in consequence of our long cruise, we were able to supply but little. We furnished them, however, with a small boat, (the ship gig) some sails, powder, and shot, a few carpenters' and blacksmiths' tools, and other articles (of all of which I have also the honor to transmit a list, receipted for by the Acting Agent of the settlement,) and which I trust will meet the approbation of the Department. Our arrival here has happened most opportunely for the emigrants daily expected from Norfolk.

It appears that their supply, or rations, of rice, has yet to be procured from the Kroo country; and, without this supply, they would, in a little time, be almost in a state of starvation; and the Government schooner, on which they are dependent to procure this article, could not proceed to sea for the want of sails, and some other necessary materials. This difficulty we have removed, and the vessel will be enabled, in good time, to procure the requisite supply. The importance of this settlement here is daily developing itself, in various ways, and is already felt as a refuge of security and hospitality, both to the oppressed natives and the shipwrecked mariner. Lately, a French oil ship was cast away to the South of Grand Bassa, where the crew, about twenty in number, were kindly received by the settlers at that place, and from which they safely travelled, uninterrupted, along the sea shore to Monrovia. Here the generous hospitality of the people of Liberia, (though with humble means, and at their own expense) prompted them to fit out a conveyance for the seamen by the Government schooner, in which they were carried to their own settlement of Goree, (which circumstance was the cause of the schooner having worn out her sails and being unable to proceed to sea, for the requisite supply of rice heretofore mentioned.) And on our arrival here, I found a French man-of-war barque, the commander of which had been despatched by the Governor of Goree, to express the thanks of his country to the people of Liberia, for the charitable services which they had rendered their countrymen. Monrovia appears to be in a thriving condition, and bears an air of comfort and neatness in the dwellings quite surprising. Several stone warehouses and stone wharfs line the banks of the river; others are building, which, with several schooners loading and unloading or repairing, afford an aspect and an air of business common to a respectable white population. All seem to be employed; good order and morality prevailing throughout. But cultivators of the soil are mostly needed here. A few mechanics might do well; such as ship-carpenters, blacksmiths, sailmakers, and boat-builders, masons and house-carpenters, &c. They should all, however, be bound in articles of agreement, previously to coming out, to do something towards the clearing and cultivation of the soil, for the space of a few years. Some sailors are also needed. Cultivation has been very much neglected, and this circumstance has operated greatly to the disadvantage of the place. A species of emigrants arrive at times who are also very injurious to the prosperity and growth of the settlement. Idle, they become paupers, and throw themselves on the charity of the industrious and frugal settler, who kindly gives relief, but who may, in time, also become a pauper, if this evil

be not guarded against. Some of the settlers have mentioned this matter to me, and have requested that I would place the circumstance in a clear light on my return home, not only for the sake of humanity, but also to save the Colonization Society great and unnecessary expense.

They say "some of the emigrants who have been sent out to us, are soon, like the many paupers who have been sent out to the United States from Europe, objects for the poor house; but there is this difference between us and the people of the cities of the United States, we are not yet able to support more than our own families." Except in a few instances, this is too true. It appears, numbers of emigrants arrive unwilling to labor. Numbers, also, who would labor, during the half year period they are subsisted by the Society, are unable to do so on account of sickness, which all, more or less, have to suffer shortly after their arrival. And at the expiration of their six months' support, still sick, and thrown upon the charity of the community, they get dispirited, give up and die. Of this description of people, we may number those generally who have been recently emancipated.

There are, however, some creditable exceptions. From this, it would appear, that six months' provision is not sufficient for a settler, who comes without means. The country is fertile and productive of every variety of sustenance necessary to man, and no settler, *however poor*, with *industry and frugality*, after a year's support, need to be in want. An old settler, in comfortable circumstances, assured me, he had done all for himself by the sweat of his own brow; and that, too, under the disadvantage of having an axe in one hand to clear his land, and his gun in the other for self-protection, against the occasional attacks of the natives.

This difficulty, a new settler has not now to encounter; added to which, he has all the benefits resulting from a well-established town, composed of several hundred individuals.

The recaptured Africans, five miles distant, settled at New Georgia, are spoken of in the most commendable terms, as industrious, frugal, and thriving, and capable of taking care of themselves. Amongst the products of the country, or those which may be produced, either in the neighborhood of Montserado, or at a distance in the interior, may be enumerated the sugar cane, rice, cassada, corn, plantains, bananas and sweet potatoes, coffee, indigo, dyewoods, ivory, and gold dust; the three latter of which may be obtained by barter, on advantageous terms, from the native traders of the interior. This opens a wide field for settlements and speculations, and will, at no distant period, be of vast consequence to American commerce and industry. The settlement must move onwards, and, with all its disadvantages, it appears a miracle that it should be in such a state of advancement. Idlers and persons incapacitated for freedom, should not be sent here at present, if it be desirable to benefit the free colored population from the United States, and, through their means, to regenerate Africa; but that class of them should be sent who know how to appreciate the rights of man, and who will not make an improper use of the blessings of liberty, equality, and freedom of social intercourse. Such persons of color, here, *in the land of their ancestors*, find a home and a country, and *here only* do they find themselves "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled." An intelligent old man, about 60 years of age, with whom I conversed, stated that he had been here about eighteen months, and was getting on cleverly for himself and family, "but that on no account would he return to the United States. It was true, he had not yet the luxuries nor the accommodations which he had been accustomed to in America, but the want of these were not to be brought into competition with his rights and privileges, as a man, in Liberia; for here only, in the consciousness of having no superior, did he feel himself a *man*, or had he ever known what it was to be truly happy."

The older residents of Monrovia, people of considerable experience and sound judgment, speak flatteringly of the policy of making a settlement at the mouth of the Junk river, a distance of about thirty miles to the south. It would form a connecting link with the settlements of Little and Grand Bassa, about as much further to the southward. The country is represented as exceedingly well suited for settlements; and the natives are frequently giving invitations to the people of Montserado to come and settle among them. From their representations, it is, perhaps, the most eligible situation along the whole coast; and, in little time, a valuable trade might be established there. The trade of Montserado with the interior, for the last year, has fallen off considerably, in consequence of the war between the native tribes about two hundred and fifty miles distant. They are all, however, in harmony with the settlers. Journeys are occasionally made amongst them, and an intelligent youth, about 19 years of age, son of one of the settlers, lately penetrated about two or three hundred miles into the interior. He represents the country, at about twenty-five miles from the sea, as rising into high and hilly land, with a very agreeable and pleasant temperature; the low flat land along the coast being covered with moderately sized trees and a thick underwood, difficult to penetrate, whilst that of the higher grounds abounds with large timber of various description, with scarcely a bush, and resembling, in some degree, beautiful cleared groves. He was treated with great kindness by all the chiefs and people throughout the whole course of his journey.

The settlers of Monrovia are desirous of having a person sent out to them as Chief Agent, as soon as may be practicable, the Chief Agent having left them lately for the United States. A person of some weight in years and sound discretion—not unlike Mr. SHALER, lately

Consul at the Havanna—should be selected. Such a person, it is supposed, is greatly needed here, both for his administration of justice, economy, and direction of affairs. With him, some suitable practical person ought also to be sent, to superintend the clearing of the land, and to oversee the planters for a certain period, so as to ensure attention to a proper cultivation of the soil. The services of the late lamented Dr. RANDAL continue to draw forth from every settler the most grateful acknowledgments. It appears that his directive energies gave a new existence to the place, and no one could be more deplored.

The charitable societies of our country might do great good by educating some young men of color in the practice of physic and surgery for the distant settlements on the coast—they are greatly needed. It is reported a number of vessels for Cuba, are now on this coast, near the Equator, employed in the odious traffic of the slave trade; a steamboat is highly necessary here, as a guarda costa, and to examine into this matter. Such a vessel would clear the rivers and the whole sea. But it is vain to expect this effect, in the employment of vessels with sails only. In these light wind latitudes, vessels are frequently becalmed for days; at other times they may go from one to two knots an hour, rarely more, and it is considered a good run to make forty miles a day. On the passage here, it took this fleet ship, under sky-sails, ten days to accomplish two hundred and forty miles. In a climate like this, the very incorrect charts, as well as the sailing directory of the coast, render its navigation somewhat harassing to all. We have, however, enjoyed excellent health, not a case of fever of any description occurring. Our opportunities thus far to make all our observations, have been particularly fortunate, not missing a single instance, even for the variation of the compass; and having laid out our track on the chart, from Gibraltar down, if copied, it may serve as a useful guide to others.

On our way hither from Madeira, we passed through the Canaries, visiting the Islands of Palma and Teneriffe, and near the region of the Cape de Verds, and shall leave here to-day for the United States, touching on our way for water at Martinique. And in passing the neighborhood of the Cape de Verd Islands on the several tracks of vessels, whether for the coast of Africa or across the Equator, should any pirates be hovering about those quarters, I trust we shall give a good account of them. Very respectfully, Sir, &c., &c.

P. F. VOORHEES.

Hon. LEVI WOODBURY,  
Secretary of the Navy, Washington.

### INTERESTING DOCUMENT.

Our readers will be gratified, we doubt not, by the opportunity now given to them, of ascertaining the names of the *original subscribers who organized the American Colonization Society*, in the year 1817. Subjoined, are the Constitution which they adopted, and a list of their names, copied from the original subscription list, on file in the office of the Society, and published by order of the Board of Managers.

Many of the individuals who commenced this great work of enlightened philanthropy, have since finished their mortal career. Others of them still survive, to see, every day, experience confuting the objections with which their noble experiment had been assailed, and adding new testimony in favour of their practical wisdom in attempting it. When we recollect the circumstances under which this experiment was made; the doubts and difficulties which rested on its infancy; its feeble beginnings and subsequent disasters; and then contemplate its actual results, and the present stage of its progress, it is not easy to limit the measure of gratitude due to the founders of the Society, or the hopes of its present friends and supporters.

The original Constitution and subscribers are as follows;

ART. I. This Society shall be called "*The American Society for colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.*"

ART. II. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient:—And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.

ART. III. Every citizen of the United States who shall subscribe to these articles, and

be an annual contributor of one dollar to the funds of the Society, shall be a member: or paying a sum of not less than thirty dollars, at one subscription, shall be a member for life.

ART. IV. The officers of this Society shall be, a President, thirteen Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Recorder, and a Board of Managers, composed of the abovenamed officers, and twelve other members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the members of the Society, at their annual meeting, on New Year's day, (except when that happens to be the Sabbath, and then the next day,) and continue to discharge their respective duties till others are appointed.

ART. V. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers, and to call meetings of the Society, and of the Board, when he thinks necessary, or when required by any three members of the Board.

ART. VI. The Vice-Presidents, according to seniority, shall discharge these duties in the absence of the President.

ART. VII. The Secretary shall take minutes of the proceedings, prepare and publish notices, and discharge such other duties as the Board, or the President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President, according to seniority, (when the Board is not sitting,) shall direct.—And the Recorder shall record the proceedings and the names of the members, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ART. VIII. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of the funds of the Society, under such security as may be prescribed by the Board of Managers; keep the ac'ts. and exhibit an account of receipts and expenditures at every annual meeting, and discharge such other duties as may be required of him.

ART. IX. The Board of Managers shall meet on the first Monday in January, the first Monday in April, the first Monday in July, and the first Monday in October, every year, and at such other times as the President may direct. They shall conduct the business of the Society, and take such measures for effecting its object as they shall think proper, or which shall be directed at the meetings of the Society, and make an annual report of their proceedings. They shall also fill up all vacancies occurring during the year, and make such by-laws for their government as they may deem necessary, provided the same are not repugnant to this constitution.

ART. X. Every Society which shall be formed in the United States, to aid in the object of this Association, and which shall co-operate with its funds for the purposes thereof, agreeably to the rules and regulations of this Society, shall be considered auxiliary thereto; and its officers shall be entitled to attend and vote at all meetings of the Society, and of the Board of Managers.

H. Clay,  
E. B. Caldwell,  
Tho. Dougherty,  
Stephen B. Balch,  
Jno. Chalmers, Jun.  
Thos. Patterson,  
John Randolph of Roanoke,  
Robt. H'y. Goldsborough,  
William Thornton,  
George Clarke,  
James Laurie,  
J. I. Stull,  
Dan'l. Webster,  
J. C. Herbert,  
Wm. Simmons,  
E. Forman,  
Ferd'no. Fairfax,  
V. Maxcy,  
Jno. Loockerman,  
Jno. Woodside,  
William Dudley Digges,  
Thomas Carberry,  
Samuel J. Mills,  
Geo. A. Carroll,  
W. G. D. Worthington,

John Lee,  
Richard Bland Lee,  
D. Murray,  
Robert Finley,  
B. Allison,  
B. L. Lear,  
W. Jones,  
J. Mason,  
Mord. Booth,  
J. S. Shaaff,  
Geo. Peter,  
John Tayloe,  
Overton Carr,  
P. H. Wendover,  
F. S. Key,  
Charles Marsh,  
David M. Forest,  
John Wiley,  
Nathan Lufborough,  
William Meade,  
William H. Wilmer,  
George Travers,  
Edm. I. Lee,  
John P. Todd,  
Bushrod Washington.

## SOUTHERN LIBERALITY.

John M'Donough, one of the most wealthy and influential citizens of New Orleans, has presented a memorial to the legislature of Louisiana, praying for leave to educate his slaves. He states that he is the owner of from forty to fifty black children, male and female, of various ages, the offspring of old and faithful servants, who have mostly been born under his roof. These slaves are valuable, being mostly mechanics, and would sell for \$150,000. The design of the owner, however, is, to give freedom to all, and colonize them in Liberia. For this purpose, and that they may be qualified for the proposed new sphere of action, he desires permission to educate them. It will make the hearts of our immediate abolitionists to sink to see such fruit growing from the labours of the Colonization Society. We however can rejoice, and do rejoice, to see the work going thus nobly on. Mr. M'Donough is beginning in the right way. First prepare the slaves for freedom, prepare an asylum where they can enjoy the blessing, and then bestow it.—*N. Y. Commercial.*

[From the *Philadelphia Friend*, February 22.]

## COMMUNICATION.

"Go and do thou likewise."—Luke, chap. x. v. 37.

While I regret the opposition which the M'Donough proposal has met with, to the interruption of his designs in the first instance, for educating "the offspring of old and faithful servants," I can but regard that gentleman's noble intention as an incitement well calculated to influence public opinion greatly in favor of the coloured people; and I deem it to be a duty which we owe to the impending cause of negro emancipation, to give M'Donough's example publicity. Let his principles circulate from west to east—from south to north, and they will obtain the attentive audience of thousands, to an approved theory of liberality and of justice, which, if brought to bear on general practice, like good seed sown upon fruitful soil, the increase may become abundant; and the M'Donough plan for breaking the *chain of slavery*, for exalting the character and improving the situation of the *freed-man*, although obstructed for the moment, will ultimately survive the resistance of tyranny and oppression.

In the mean time, permit me through thy paper, to recommend another method of imparting the boon of instruction to the uninformed children of Africa, by furnishing the means of planting schools, not only in Liberia but through the precincts of that colony, to extend the blessing to neighbouring tribes of aborigines; multitudes of whose population are to this day slumbering in gross ignorance.

To those of my readers who have not yet bestowed on these subjects that serious consideration which they deserve, my proposition may appear to be out of reach, or impracticable; and for the encouragement of some who withhold their interest through diffidence of their own judgment, or want of confidence in the scheme, I am induced to relate the following facts, in order to represent that degree of success which has already crowned the feeble exertions of an individual of this city, who, about three years ago, ventured to solicit from a few of her friends a small subscription, to enable her to set up two free schools for the instruction of females in Liberia and to pay one year's salary to the respective teachers. These schools were thus carried into effect: the first was located at Caldwell—the second in Monrovia, where they have been ever since regularly conducted by pious coloured women of competent abilities, whose school lists have mostly exceeded one

hundred pupils, and it appears from their reports, that, of necessity, many applicants are excluded who would gladly partake of the limited bounty.

Since the expiration of the first term in agreement with Elizabeth Caesar and Elizabeth Johnson, and their schools—No. 1 and No. 2,—have been adopted, and their salaries paid by the "The Ladies' Association, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, for the promotion of Education in Liberia." Under patronage of the same association, a third school has been instituted among the recaptured Africans at New Georgia upon Stockton creek; and they are now preparing to set up a fourth to be located perhaps at Edina, a recent settlement of emigrants, upon the St. John's river; or if the contemplated *Pennsylvan colony* shall go into operation—*Benezet*, or the chief town situate upon Bassa Cove, will probably require the earliest aid of the "Ladies' Association."

Why should any friend of the African race shrink from their portion of service in this work of benevolence, or turn aside from the path of duty, alarmed at the magnitude of the undertaking?

It is true, an extensive field for cultivation lies open before us, which is unhappily in a condition comparable to that of fallow ground; while the urgencies of the occasion, silently but forcibly plead the cause of our "brethren in calamity." Let us then of our abundance cast something into common stock, which if conscientiously devoted to the necessities of our fellow beings, and skilfully applied with special direction to the primary object in view, we may safely commit the freewill offering to the one all-sufficient Power, who according to his good pleasure, will again condescend to bless the loaves and the fishes, for the relief of suffering humanity. S. B.

## INTELLIGENCE.

*Extracts from the proceedings of the Board of Managers.*

The following resolution was adopted on the 20th of February, 1834:

*Resolved*, That an effort be made to raise a loan of FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS, in shares of not less than one hundred dollars each; for which a Scrip shall be issued, signed by the President, and countersigned by the Treasurer, bearing six per cent. interest; the said stock to be paid off in twelve years; and for the payment of the interest, and the reimbursement of the principal thereof, a sinking fund of six thousand dollars a year, be, and the same is hereby appropriated and pledged out of the funds which shall be received by the Board in each year.

On the 30th January, 1834, the following resolutions, making certain changes in the Plan for the civil government of Liberia, were adopted:

1. *Resolved*, That the fourth article of the Plan of civil government for the Colony of Liberia be so amended as to read for "two," "six" counsellors; this amendment not to take effect until the next annual election in the Colony; and that the other articles be so altered as to correspond with this and other amendments which may now be made.

2. *Resolved*, That the Agent, or (in his absence) the Vice-Agent, together with the aforesaid six counsellors, shall constitute a council, who shall meet on the first Monday of January and July of each year, and at such other times as the Agent shall deem expedient. The Agent, or, in his absence, the Vice-Agent shall preside at all their meetings. They shall have power to lay taxes, impose duties, make appropriations of public monies, fix the salaries of all officers to be paid out of the funds to be raised in the Colony, and enact such laws as they may deem necessary for the general welfare, subject, however, to the approval of the Colonial Agent and the Board of Managers.—Should any law be passed by the council and disapproved by the Agent, he shall state to the council his reasons for disapproval; and should it then be passed unanimously by the council, it shall remain in force until the Board of Managers shall pronounce their decision upon it.

3. *Resolved*, That from and after the first day of May next, any officer or Agent of the Society or Colony, who shall be supplied with articles of living from the public stores, shall be charged on the books of the Colony twenty-five per cent. advance upon the original cost and freight of such articles.

4. *Resolved*, That from and after the first

day of August next, the Colonial Agent, Physician, Assistant Physicians, Colonial Secretary and Storekeeper only, shall derive support from the Society; and such officers as the Colonial council may deem necessary, shall be paid out of the funds raised in the Colony; and that from and after the first day of May next, the following salaries be allowed the said officers respectively, in full compensation of their services—that is to say,

For the Agent, in addition to the amount allowed by the Government of the United States, \$1400.

For the Physician, - - - 1600.

For the Colonial Secretary, - - 600.

For the Storekeeper, - - - 400.

The following preamble and resolutions were adopted on the 20th of February, 1834:

For the better accommodation of emigrants on their first arrival at Liberia, and in order to prevent the necessity of their immediately undertaking the erection of a dwelling-place, and the clearing of a piece of ground, before they have had time to look about them, and to make choice of a suitable location,

*Resolved*, That the Colonial Agent be instructed, as early as practicable, to have a number of lots of land laid off, in convenient and eligible situations, in the vicinity of each other, each containing five acres (more or less, as may seem best to the Agent,) and erect on each a comfortable cottage, of native structure, sufficient for the residence of a small family: that a sufficient portion of each lot be cleared and planted with the most useful vegetables; provided that the expense of laying off said lots, erecting such cottages, and preparing a portion of the ground, and planting the same, shall in no case exceed fifty dollars for each homestead. And if, after a residence of twelve months, the occupant of any such lot shall desire to make it his permanent residence, in order to entitle him to a fee simple right therein, he shall erect a similar cottage, and plant in like manner, a similar piece of ground in the vicinity, on such spot as may be designated by the Colonial Agent, for the accommodation of some other stranger emigrant. But if any such emigrant be desirous of removing from his cottage, and of possessing a larger quantity of land, for the purpose of farming, he shall be accommodated in the manner provided by the Board of Managers, in the following

*Report on Public Lands, adopted by the Board of Managers, April 22, 1830.*

"That hereafter, unless specially directed by the Board, land shall be allotted or sold to emigrants to Liberia, in the following manner:—

"Every adult male emigrant, shall, on his arrival, receive a building lot in one of the existing towns, or of such other towns as may be established by public authority, with five acres of plantation land as nearly adjacent as may be; if married, two for his wife, and one for each of his children; no single family, however, to receive more than ten acres, and said family to reside thereon or the town lot.

"The same provision shall, at the discretion of the Colonial Agent, extend to adult female emigrants.

"That such Colonist have a right within five years to purchase at the rate of one dollar per acre, for ready money, a quantity of land not exceeding ten acres, to be reserved adjacent as may be to the quantity so allowed.

"That these provisions be applicable to the said towns and the district of country within three miles thereof.

"That in respect to the country beyond three miles from the towns:

"Each emigrant, as aforesaid, shall receive, if he prefer it, in lieu of the above donation, fifty acres of land for himself and family,—they residing thereon, with the right of purchasing, within five years thereafter, at the rate of twenty-five cents per acre, ready money, fifty adjacent acres.

"That the said allotments and lands sold be laid out, as well in respect to town lots as otherwise, under the direction of the Colonial Agent, in such way as not to interfere with existing rights, and so as to make the lots and farms as regular in form and compact as may be, reserving in the gratuitous allotments to emigrants, adjacent to each allotment, a quantity equal to that so allotted, when requisite to satisfy the rights of pre-emption.

"That beyond three miles from the said towns, sales of land be made for ready money as follows:—

"To any one Colonist, at the rate of twenty-five cents an acre, for any quantity of land not less than one hundred or more than two hundred acres. And at the same rate for any quantity of land, provided a settlement be made thereon by the permanent residence of one Colonist to every hundred acres: Provided, however, that in these cases the approbation of the Colonial Agent be requisite; and that in authorizing them he pay special regard to restraining the settlement within safe and prudent limits, reserving for the future benefit of the Colony, tracts containing mill seats, mines or other specially valuable properties, or selling them at a price proportionate to their value.

"That the proceeds of all sales of lands made, shall be for the benefit of the Colony; but shall be strictly accounted for, and applied by this Board.

"*Resolved*, That the Colonial Agent be instructed to discourage, by all means in his power, the supply through the factories or otherwise, of the natives with fire arms, powder and shot.

"*Resolved*, That the Colonial Agent be empowered to make a donation to any Colonist, or association of Colonists, not exceeding five hundred acres of land, on condition that the same be appropriated to the culture of sugar, cotton, or coffee."

*Resolved* also, That the Colonial Agent be directed to lay out, in some convenient and eligible situation for the purpose, from one to two hundred acres of good land, as a public farm, to be enclosed, sown and planted.

from time to time, in such portions as circumstances may permit and render expedient, with the most useful grain and vegetables for the use of the Colonial Agency, and for the supply of such of the inhabitants as are not able, or have not yet had opportunities to provide for themselves; and where unemployed emigrants may also be engaged to labour, on such terms as may be deemed reasonable, until they can meet with more acceptable business: Provided that not more than five hundred dollars be expended in effecting this object, except authorized hereafter by the Board of Managers.

*Resolved*, That the Colonial Agent be instructed to use his endeavours to obtain a healthy territory for settlement on the high lands in the interior country, at a distance of thirty, forty, of fifty miles from the sea-coast; and, provided he succeed in this object, that he cause a road to be opened from Liberia to this proposed new settlement; provided the expense does not exceed five hundred dollars.

#### REPORTS OF AGENTS.

UTICA, N. Y., January 17, 1834.

*To the Board of Managers, &c.*

Having arrived at this place on the last week in December, for the purpose of presenting the claims of the Society, I delivered on Sabbath evening, December 29, an address in the First Presbyterian Church, after which there was received a contribution of \$30. Some friends of the Society here, being anxious its full merits should be laid before the public, proposed to give leave to its opponents to urge their objections.—Rev. Beriah Green, of the Oneida Institute, took the ground of the Abolitionists, and in the course of the debate, was permitted to occupy two whole evenings.

Among those who engaged in the discussion, was Rev. Messrs. Aikea and Bethune, W. J. Bacon, W. Tracy, C. Eddy, B. F. Cooper, A. B. Johnson and others. It was continued for nine evenings, and concluded on Monday evening last by passing the following resolution:—

*“Resolved*, That this meeting deeply deplore the unfortunate condition of the coloured population of this country, and commend to the zealous support of the philanthropist and the Christian, the American Colonization Society, as the instrument under Providence, which is best calculated to meliorate the condition of the free negro, and secure the ultimate emancipation of the slave.”

This discussion has been full, free and thorough. The positions of our opponents were assumed with boldness and maintained with enthusiasm. The principles of the Society, the sentiments of its leading friends, the measures of the Board, and the character and the condition of the Colony, were solemnly arraigned and severely investigated. Imperfections were of course discovered and magnified; but after all, the efforts of the very able gentleman, who headed the

opposition, a very clear verdict was given in this court of the people for the Society. During a portion of the debate, there were present, it is estimated, as many as 2000 people.

On Thursday evening, the Auxiliary Colonization Society, under whose auspices the discussion had proceeded, met by adjournment, and in conjunction with friends of the Society, determined to make an appeal to the people of Utica, for the purpose of raising, if practicable, ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS, to aid the Parent Society.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

J. N. DANFORTH.

The Rev. E. W. SEHON requests us to notice more particularly than was done in the Repository for March 1833, the contributions received by him at Columbus, Ohio. They were as follows:

Public collection after an address in the hall of the House of Representatives,	\$29 52
After a sermon in the Meth. church,	15 25
Books from Mrs. Espy for the Colony, amounting to	27 73
A gold Ring from Miss Kelly,	2 50
Messrs. Pitcher & Gill,	5
From sundry individuals,	110

**\$190 00**

The draft from Cincinnati Branch, for \$143, acknowledged at page 61 of the 9th volume, should have been credited to Mr. Sehon.

#### AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

Pursuant to a notice previously given in the Winchester Virginian, a number of the young men of Frederick county and town of Winchester, assembled in the court-house on Thursday evening, December 15th, for the purpose of organizing a Young Men's Colonization Society. DANIEL CONRAD was called to the Chair, and A. N. H. MECKES appointed Secretary.

The committee appointed at a preceding meeting to prepare a constitution, through their chairman, Dr. DUNBAR, presented the following PREAMBLE AND CONSTITUTION:

We, the undersigned, young men of the county of Frederick and town of Winchester, approving most heartily of the sublime effort of philanthropy in which the American Colonization Society is now engaged—and believing that the establishment of colonies on the coast of Africa is calculated to produce the most beneficial effects on our own country, and to constitute sources whence the bright beams of light, civilization, and a knowledge of the true God, may irradiate throughout Africa, dispersing forever the Egyptian darkness which now broods over that immense continent—and that it is the duty of every patriot and philanthropist to contribute his aid in carrying

on this great cause—do associate ourselves together for the purpose of forming an Auxiliary Society, and adopt the following CONSTITUTION:—

ARTICLE 1st. This Society shall be called the Young Men's Colonization Society of the county of Frederick, auxiliary to the Virginia State Society.

ART. 2nd. The requisites for membership shall be the annual contribution of *any sum* that the individual may feel prompted, from his ability and sense of duty, to pay.

ART. 3rd. The officers of this Society shall be a President, four Vice-Presidents, (two of them residents of the town and two of the county,) a Treasurer, Secretary, and Directors, in number not less than six nor more than twenty-four; one half to be chosen from the county and one half from the town; of which Board, when regularly called together, eight shall constitute a quorum.

ART. 4th. This Board, when elected, shall choose from among its own members an executive committee, for the transaction of business.

ART. 5th. The Treasurer shall collect and keep the funds of the Society—of which he shall keep an accurate account, and hold them subject to the Board.

ART. 6th. The Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society and executive committee, and conduct all correspondence on behalf of the Society.

ART. 7th. The annual meetings of the Society shall be held on the fourth of July, to receive the annual report and elect new officers; but an election to supply any vacancy may be held at any meeting of the Society. Besides, there shall be quarterly meetings; and the President or either of the Vice-Presidents, may at any time call a meeting, when it is deemed expedient, and advantageous to the objects of the association.

The vote being taken, first upon the articles separately, and then upon the whole preamble and constitution, it was unanimously adopted. The Society then proceeded to the election of officers, when

GILES COOKE was chosen President.

JAS. H. CARSON, 1st V. President. } town.

JAS. R. CONRAD, M. D. 2nd do. }

GEO. LYNN, Jr. 1st do. } county.

PHILIP N. MEADE, 2nd do. }

JOHN A. SMITH, Treasurer.

JOHN R. W. DUNBAR, M. D. Secretary.

CARY S. PAGE,

JAS. R. GARDNER,

DANIEL CONRAD,

LLOYD LOGAN,

WM. NELSON,

ROBT. M. PAGE,

JOS. NEALE,

JOSEPH GRAY,

On motion, it was

*Resolved*, That Bp. MEADE be requested to deliver an address before this Society.

The address was accordingly delivered by Bishop Meade.

DANIEL CONRAD, *Chairman*.

A. N. H. MEYER, *Secretary*.

*From the Boston Recorder.*

MASSACHUSETTS COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts State Colonization Society was held at the Park Street meeting-house, on Monday evening, the 10th inst. His Honor Lieut. Governor Armstrong presided. After prayer by the Rev. Mr. Linsley, the Annual Report was read by the Secretary, J. V. C. Smith, M. D. This Society, it is known, devotes its funds to the improvement of Liberia, and making it an attractive and advantageous home for people of colour, by means of schools. The Report was accordingly devoted mainly to that point.

On motion of B. B. Thatcher, seconded by the Rev. Howard Malcom,

*Resolved*, That the principles recently promulgated by the Managers of the American Colonization Society, in relation to their future course, have our cordial approbation; and that we consider it our first duty to provide for and promote, so far as may be in our power, the welfare of the Colony founded by that Institution on the African coast.

Mr. Thacher spoke at length on the principles and prospects of the parent Society. The resolution alludes to a Report lately adopted and published by the Managers, in accordance with a resolution adopted at the last annual meeting. We shall endeavour in our next, to lay the subject fully before our readers, either in that Report, or in Mr. Thacher's speech.

On motion of the Rev. G. W. Blagden, seconded by Mr. Lincoln, of Worcester,

*Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society is an important auxiliary in the work of spreading the light of Christianity over the continent of Africa; and that, as such, it demands the encouragement and support of every sincere Christian.

On motion of the Rev. E. S. Gannett, seconded by Charles Tappan,

*Resolved*, That the history of African Colonization illustrates the importance of the principles maintained by the Massachusetts Colonization Society, and suggests motives for perseverance and increase of activity in our support of those principles.

The resolutions were supported by eloquent addresses from the movers. As copies of these speeches have been requested for publication, we shall not venture to give a sketch of them at present—imperfect as such a sketch would unavoidably be.

A Hymn, written by Mrs. Sigourney, [See Vol. IX. of the Repository, p. 255.] was sung by the Choir.

The audience was very large and respectable, and the proceedings animated and encouraging in a high degree.

The officers for the ensuing year are

Hon. Samuel Lathrop, *President*. His Honor Samuel T. Armstrong, Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, Hon. H. A. S. Dearborn, Hon. Wm. B. Calhoun, Hon. Isaac C. Bates, Heman Humphrey, D. D. John Tappan, Esq. Theo. Sedgwick, Esq. Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, Thomas Napier, Esq. Hon. Daniel Waldo, Hon. James Fowler, *Vice-Presidents*. B. B. Thacher, Esq. *Secretary*. Isaac Mansfield, Esq. *Treasurer*. Rev. Ebenezer Burgess, Dedham; Hon. Josiah Robbins, Plymouth; Hon. John W. Lincoln, Worcester; Rev. Howard Malcom, Boston; Rev. Ezra S. Gannet, Boston; Hon. Eliphalet Williams, Northampton; Prof. Samuel M. Worcester, Amherst; Charles Tappan, Esq. Boston; George A. Tufts, Esq. Dudley, John S. Butler, M. D. Worcester; Thomas A. Greene, Esq. New Bedford; Hon. Wm. S. Hastings, Mendon; Hon. Ira Barton, Oxford; Rev. B. B. Edwards, Boston; Rev. Wm. Hague, Boston; Rev. John Pierpont, Boston; J. V. C. Smith, M. D. Boston; Rev. Geo. W. Blagden, Boston; Horace Mann, Esq. Boston; William J. Hubbard, Esq. Boston; *Managers*.

*Letter from a little Girl in Edinburgh, to a little African Girl in Liberia.*

The following is the letter of a little girl six and a half years old in Edinburgh, who having been much interested by Mr. Cresson's address, requested him to convey her letter, with a small present to a poor little African girl in Liberia.

EDINBURGH, March 9, 1833.

*My dear little Girl*.—I do not know your name, but you must tell it me in a letter which I hope you will send to me very soon. It does not signify whether you can write or not, for you can get somebody to write for you, as my mama does for me. I tell her the words and she writes them down. Ever since I have heard about Liberia, I have tried to learn my lessons well, that I might have a number of pennies, so as to make eight shillings, which I am told is enough to find you a happy home in your own dear country. You must tell me whether you have got a Bible or not, for if you have not, I will send you one to teach you to fear GOD, and to love his Son Jesus Christ; for if you love Him and pray to Him and think of Him, you will go when you die to a happy place, where no one will cry, where every one will rejoice, for there will be no weeping there, nor any more pain, for it is written in the Bible that GOD

shall wipe away all tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain. But if you do not love Him, but say it is nonsense—pooh—when people teach you, you will go to a horrid place where every person is miserable, and you will never come out of it again—never. My mama tells me, that your country is so hot that I should die if I went there, and that mine is too cold for you to come here; so I fear we shall never see each other till we get to Heaven. If you do not understand how we shall know each other in the crowd there, I will tell you that GOD will show us to each other, so we must both try to get there—we cannot do it by ourselves; but we must pray to GOD to help us for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake. We may be sure that He will do it, for He has promised us that He will do it if we ask in the Lord Jesus Christ's name.

I have got a cocoa nut, and I know that it grew on a tree in your country, and I dare say that you will have a cocoa nut tree near your pleasant little cottage. You must tell me your name in the letter you will send to me. I live in Athol Crescent, No. 4, in Edinburgh, in Scotland, and my name is Emily Wake. Good bye, my dear little girl.

I send you a pretty pincushion with pins in it, because they do not make them in your country. It is very pretty, and it has needles inside, and a bodkin. There is a ball of cotton too, that you may learn to sew. One of my brothers sends you a shilling and a penny, and another a shilling—and another, a little one, a sixpence; and my mama sends as much as will make the whole into twenty shillings.

PINE GROVE, FEB. 23, 1834.

The Mississippi Presbytery, in session at Jackson, Louisiana, October 9th 1833, adopted the following resolutions, viz:

1st. *Resolved*, That the Presbytery of Mississippi entertain unabated confidence in the principle and plans of the American Colonization Society, and that they once more recommend it cordially to their congregations.

2d. *Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended to our congregations to make annual collections in such a way as may be deemed advisable.

3d. *Resolved*, That as a Presbytery, we pledge ourselves to transmit annually, for ten years, the sum of one hundred dollars to the American Colonization Society.

4th. *Resolved*, That it be the duty of the Moderator of Presbytery to attend to the collection and transmission of said subscription.

5th. *Resolved*, That the Stated Clerk be directed to transmit a copy of the above resolutions to the Corresponding Secretary of the American Colonization Society.

The above is a true copy from the minutes of Presbytery.

Attest. JAMES SMYLYE, *Secy. Clk.*

## ELLIOTT CRESSON'S COLLECTIONS IN ENGLAND.

The following is an account of the collections for this Society, made gratuitously by ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq. in England, the whole of which has been received by the Treasurer of the Society, except an inconsiderable sum paid for printing and other incidental expenses:

*Elliott Cresson, in account with the American Colonization Society.*

## DR.

		£.	s.	d.
To cash received of	James Douglas, Esq. of Cavers,	-	-	290 0 0
"	Elizabeth Pike, of Cork,	-	-	100 0 0
"	Ann H. Smith, of Olney,	-	-	100 0 0
"	Two female friends in Ireland,	-	-	100 0 0
"	Amount of Glasgow subscriptions,	100	0	0
"	Amount of Perth subscriptions,	15	9	6
"	Amount of Edinburg subscriptions, leaving a small balance in hands of the Treasurer,	115	9	6
"	Thos. and Martha Richardson, Stamford Hill,	-	-	100 0 0
"	Col. T. Perronet Thompson,	-	-	30 0 0
"	S. R. Wiley & Co.	-	-	25 0 0
"	— Lane, Esq. Frankfield, to send 2 negroes,	-	-	20 0 0
"	W. Allen Hankey, Esq. London,	-	-	15 0 0
"	Baron Gurney, do.	-	-	15 0 0
"	Hannah Pease, Leeds,	-	-	11 0 0
"	Wm. Parker, Sheffield,	-	-	10 10 0
"	Anne Dale, Tottenham,	-	-	10 0 0
"	Elizabeth Johnson, Ipswich,	-	-	10 0 0
"	Miss Prince,	-	-	10 0 0
"	Devereux Bowley, Esq. Cirencester,	-	-	10 10 0
"	Christopher Bowley, Esq. do.	-	-	10 10 0
"	Tho. Brown, Esq. do.	-	-	10 10 0
"	Tho. Thornely, Esq. Liverpool,	-	-	10 0 0
"	Samuel Mitchell, Esq. London,	-	-	10 0 0
"	H. Birkbeck, Esq. Norwich,	-	-	10 0 0
"	J. J. Gurney, Esq.	-	-	10 0 0
"	Jane Gurney,	-	-	7 10 0
"	Thos. Bignold, Jr.	-	-	7 10 0
"	M. C. Geldart, and family,	-	-	7 10 0
"	Jas. Boardman, Esq.	3	16	9
"	Coll. at Friends' meeting,	3	13	3
"	Small sums,	-	-	7 10 0
"	Rev. Francis Bevan, near Norwich,	-	-	5 0 0
"	Robt. Bevan, Esq. Bury St. Edmonds,	-	-	7 10 0
"	R. K. Pace and M. High, do	-	-	7 10 0
"	(To pay Elizabeth Johnson's passage.)	-	-	-
"	Dr. Smith,	-	-	7 10 0
"	Small sums,	-	-	14 0 0
"	Henry Bromfield, Esq. Cheltenham,	-	-	36 10 0
"	Wm. Harland, Esq. Durham,	-	-	10 0 0
"	Dr. Fenwick, do.	-	-	8 0 0
"	Rev. E. Higginson, Hull,	-	-	8 0 0
"	Repaid do for pamphlets,	1	17	6
To cash received from	Tho. Walker and friends, Stockton, for the settlement of a slave, being a Methodist preacher, and wife,	-	-	6 2 6
"	Wm. Massey, Esq. Spalding,	-	-	16 0 0
"	Dr. Hodgkin, for settlement of Dr. L. G. Wells,	-	-	7 10 0
"	Benjamin Hawes, Esq. M. P. London,	-	-	7 10 0
"	J. J. Briscoe, Esq. M. P. do.	-	-	7 10 0
"	Russell Scott, Esq.	-	-	7 10 0
"	Frances Wright, Bristol,	-	-	7 10 0
"	Dundee subn. and colln. per A. Low, Esq.	-	-	19 2 6
"	Spalding colln. per Catherine Massey,	-	-	10 10 0
"	Long Sutton and Gedney colln. per Jonathan Hutchinson,	-	-	8 12 0
"	Wisbeach colln. per A. Peckover.	-	-	7 10 0
"	Peckham ladies, per Catherine Woods,	-	-	7 10 0
"	Montrose colln. per Provost Paton,	-	-	7 17 0
"	Collected by Jonathan Hall, Whitby,	-	-	5 15 0
"	H. Sandwith, M. D. Bridlington,	-	-	4 15 0

£. s. d.

To cash from Sarah Starbuck, Carlisle, collected by her, viz.

	Thos. Graham, Esq. Edward Castle,	2	0	0	
	Mrs. Starbuck,	1	0	0	
	Mrs. Joseph Fisher,	1	0	0	
	The Misses Ferguson,	1	0	0	
	Mrs. Sutton,	1	0	0	
	The Misses Lock,	2	0	0	
	Mrs. Ferguson, Harker Lodge,	1	0	0	
	Mrs. Mounsey,	1	0	0	
	The Misses Mounsey,	1	0	0	
	Miss Ferguson, Abbey do.	10			
	Peter Dixon and sons,	3	0	0	
	Mrs. Sowerby,	5			
	Mrs. Parker,	1	0	0	
	Miss Starbuck (annual),	5			16 0 0
"	At Beverley, per A. Atkinson, Esq.				5 6 6
"	Nottingham, per F. Hart, Esq.				5 12 0
"	At Tadcaster, by Mrs. Fletcher,				5 10 0
"	By Rev. E. Clarke, Truro, to settle Rev. R. Moss,				7 10 0
"	By Th. Bell, Maryport, to settle Rev. B. Colbert,				7 10 0
"	From Mrs. Fletcher, Bruce Grove,				5 0 0
"	W. Evans, Esq. M. P. London,				5 0 0
"	Ann Wilkins, Cirencester,				5 0 0
"	Rev. Dr. Wall, F. T. C. Dublin,				5 0 0
"	John Williams, Jr. Truro,				5 0 0
"	Ann Everard, Spalding,				5 0 0
"	James Meek, Esq. York,				5 0 0
"	Sarah Brackenbury, Lincolnshire,				5 0 0
"	"O." Dublin,				4 0 0
"	Amount at Derby meeting,	4	0	4	
"	Deduct expenses paid,	4	0	0	4
"	"Anonymous," per S. Woods, Jr.				3 0 0
"	Mrs. Holworthy, Huntingdon,				3 0 0
"	Mrs. Want, do.	1	0	0	
"	Miss Holworthy do.	1	0	0	
"	Miss Todby, do.	1	0	0	3 0 0
"	Wm. Grey, Esq. York,				2 0 0
"	Thos. Fox, Esq. Ipswich,				2 0 0
"	Mrs. Addison, Cheltenham,				2 0 0
"	Major Bean, do.				2 0 0
"	Charles Finch, Esq. Cambridge,				2 2 0
"	Joseph Cash, Esq. Coventry,				2 0 0
"	From J. Cort, Esq. Leicester,				1 0 0
"	Ann Richardson,				1 0 0
"	Rev. Dr. Gilby, Bridlington,	1	0	0	
"	T. Grame, do.	1	0	0	
"	Miss Creykes, do.	1	0	0	
"	H. Smith, Esq. do.	1	0	0	
"	H. Sandwith, M. D. do.	1	0	0	5 0 0
"	John Ford, Esq. York,				1 0 0
"	From Col. Shipperson, Durham,				1 0 0
"	From Mrs. Haugh, Doncaster,				1 0 0
"	From S. Hickson, Esq. do.				1 0 0
"	From J. Wimberley, Esq. do.				1 0 0
"	From R. Ramsden, Esq. Carlton, near do.				1 1 0
"	From James Montgomery, Esq. Sheffield,				1 0 0
"	From C. Pytelus, Ipswich,				1 1 0
"	From a friend in Ireland, per R. D. A.				1 0 0
"	From Rev. T. Brodhurst, Bath,				1 0 0
"	From H. R. Allenby, Esq. Louth,				1 0 0
"	From W. Shields, Esq. Durham,				1 0 0
"	From T. C. Maynard, Esq.				1 0 0
"	From C. Fielding,				1 0 0
"	From C. Ebdon, Esq.				1 0 0
"	From "P." do.				0 10 0
"	From Rob. Spence, Esq. N. Shields,	1	0	0	
"	From Wm. Richardson, Esq. do.	10			
"	From Dr. Bramwell, do.	10			
"	From John Owen, Esq. do.	10			3 10 0
"	From a friend of Africa, per Record,				1 0 0

# ELLIOTT CRESSON'S COLLECTIONS.

[March,

	£.	s.	d.
To cash received from Rev. Wm. S. Gilly, Durham,	2	0	0
“ “ From “D. M. L.” per J. Miller,	1	0	0
“ “ From Cash, per Joseph Cash, Esq.	1	0	0
“ “ From Mary Harford, Ipswich,	1	0	0
“ “ From Rev. J. Eyre, Beverley,	0	11	0
“ “ From George Cookman, Esq. Hull,	1	0	0
“ “ From Miss Fludyer, London,	0	10	0
“ “ From J. Wilson, Islington,	0	10	0
“ “ From Miss Larkin, per P. Coar,	6	10	0
“ “ From Rev. J. Clapp, Cirencester,	1	1	0
“ “ From Mrs. Roberts, Newcastle,	1	0	0
“ “ From Mrs. and Miss Stovia, Chesterfield,	1	0	0
“ “ From Rev. F. Blood, Dublin,	1	0	0
“ “ From Sir Arthur Brook,	5	0	0
“ “ From N. Hartland, Esq. Evesham,	3	0	0
“ “ From R. C. and Ann Burlingham, do.	3	0	0
“ “ From J. Gregory, do.	1	0	0
“ “ From W. Southall, do.	1	0	0
“ “ From S. Dixon,	1	0	0
“ “ From A. & E. Masters,	0	15	0
“ “ From L. Marshall,	0	10	0
To cash received from Rev. Geo. B. Kidd, Scarborough, viz.	10	10	0
Wm. D. Thornton, Esq.	5	0	0
James Tindall,	16	3	0
To constitute Rev. G. B. Kidd and Rev. B. Evans life subscribers,	31	13	0
“ “ From Rt. Hon. Lord Bexley, from “M. H. A.”	10	0	0
“ “ per Thos. Pickslay, amount of Lincoln subscriptions, (no particulars given)	14	8	0
“ “ Bructon Gibbins Esq. Birmingham,	5	0	0
“ “ T. B. Buxton, Esq. near do.	1	1	0
“ “ B. Brantford, Florden, near Norwich,	1	0	0
To cash received from Wm. Geary, Norwich,	1	0	0
“ “ A. Blackie, Esq. Aberdeen, amount of collections and subscriptions paid to him as Tr.	18	12	3
	£1450	17	7
In addition to the above, E. C. has paid to Ladies' Association of Philadelphia,			
Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, Hon. Mrs. Vansittart's donation of	21	0	0
Hannah Mennell's do.	10	0	0
And to Washington Davis, this sum sent by Wm. Felkin, Esq. of Nottingham,	4	10	0
E. C. also holds Lord Bexley's subscription in aid of building an Episcopal Church in Liberia,	50	0	0
And from R. Bevan, Esq. for use of Dr. McDowall,	10	0	0
Independently of the above, the Pennsylvania Branch received (and all items of which have been long since acknowledged by the A. C. S.) from R. Barclay, late of Bury Hill,	100	0	0
Subscriptions received through kind exertions of R. D. Alexander, of Ipswich,	605	1	6
Less expenses incurred by him,	11	16	2
	593	5	4
R. D. A.'s own subscription, per E. Cresson,	6	15	0
	600	0	4

Grand total,

£2246 7 11

Some subscriptions have not yet been received from distant parts of England, and some persons have declined paying theirs.

CR.

	£.	s.	d.
By cash remitted through A. & G. Ralston,	500	0	0
By do do do do	400	0	0
By do do by James Mitchell, Esq.	115	9	6
By balance paid Rev. R. R. Gurley,	435	8	1

£1450 17 7

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APRIL, 1834.

[No. 2.

LETTER FROM JEREMIAH HUBBARD,

*Of Guilford County, N. C. and Clerk of the Yearly Meeting of Friends of that State, dated 3d month, 4th, 1834, to a Friend in England.*

DEAR FRIEND:—I am induced to write to thee on the subject of colonizing the people of colour of the United States, in Africa, from an apprehension that I have had for several years past, (and from recent information I have been confirmed that I was not mistaken,) that there are some Friends in England who are much opposed to the plan of the Colonization Society; and although I do not know from any direct or definite information, what is the ground of their objection, I suppose that they think it would be more consistent with Christian principles, to emancipate them in the southern States, and let them remain here, as they have done in the northern States. I apprehend that Friends in England are not fully apprized of some important circumstances relative to the subject, which places the southern States in a very different situation from the northern. In the first place, there never were so many people of colour in the northern States as there are in the Southern; and another circumstance that diminished them there, and increased them greatly here, was, while the northern States were legislating on the subject of gradual emancipation, avaricious masters sent them by thousands to the southern markets, before the emancipating laws were actually passed; which left a small proportion in those States, in comparison to the whites; not many more, perhaps, than they were willing to have for labourers, waiting-men, waiting-women, &c. And notwithstanding they have freed their slaves, for which they are entitled to applause, yet they never dreamed, as the saying is, of raising them to equal citizenship and privileges with the white people. No, my friend, they can no more reconcile to themselves the idea of sitting down by the side of a coloured African, in any legislative or judiciary department, than the high spirited southern slaveholder; and not only so, but they never intend to admit them to these privileges, while the State Governments and the United States' Government continue in existence. Notwithstanding this, there are some highly professed philanthropists that are mightily opposed to colonization in Africa; and some of these have used their endeavours to prejudice the people of England against the Colonization Society; and have perhaps succeeded in some degree, mainly, I apprehend, by misrepresenting the views and operations or effects of the Society on the subject of sla-

very in the slave States. They appear to me to have been actuated in some degree at least by a spirit of envy or revenge at the growing approbation of the Society both in the North and the South, or it may be for the want of capacity fully to understand and comprehend the vastly capacious and benevolent enterprise in all its bearings and effects, in the past, present, and future times, not only on the community at large of the United States, both of the whites and people of colour; but upon the civilization and happiness of the millions on the continent of Africa. They have also succeeded in influencing many of the people of colour in the northern States to be much opposed to emigrating to Africa, and to the Colonization Society, which is an evident mark of their degradation, effected by their long continuance in that inferior sphere of action to which their condition and striking difference of features and colour have subjected them under the prejudices of the whites. The white people, content that they have emancipated them from slavery, are trying to give some of them some education, although, as I have said before, they never intend to admit them to an equality with themselves; no, not even a Newton, a Cæsar, or a Demosthenes, if they were descended of the sable African or Negro race, would be thus equalized. Although I apprehend that the English people are not so deeply prejudiced against the African race, as the people of the United States, yet I suppose they have enough of it, not to admit them to an equality with themselves in all respects; and that if there were as many of the African race in England, in proportion to the white people, as there are in the United States, and particularly in the southern States, there would be but one voice, and that would be for colonizing them somewhere. You might prefer Canada to Africa; but Friends here greatly prefer Africa, as being more congenial to their nature and constitution, and for several other substantial reasons. When the British Government had but about one thousand of them at the close of the American Revolution; as well as I remember from the page of history, they colonized them at Sierra Leone; and although that colony has failed in some particulars, of effecting what was expected by its founders, yet I apprehend it has not been owing to the want of capacity in the colonists, or the want of congeniality in the soil and climate of Africa to them, but for the want of a proper fostering care of its founders or their successors. And as it has been an asylum for the slaves recaptured by the British Government, they ought to make it as pleasant as they can: if they do, Sierra Leone may yet flourish, and prove a great blessing to Africa.

But the Colony of Liberia has exceeded in its progress, both in civil and political character, in numbers and territory, beyond what its most sanguine friends could have rationally expected. It contains about three thousand colonists, and territory of about two hundred miles along the coast, about thirty miles wide; between four and five hundred recaptured slaves, restored to their country at the expense of the United States' Government; about one thousand manumitted slaves, that have gone with their own consent, and with the will and consent of their owners, since the colony was founded; and from information that I now have before me, there are not less than ten thousand willing to go to Liberia, and their masters willing to give them up, if the Colony was large enough to receive them, and the Society had sufficient funds for transporting and settling them in Africa. And probably there is twice that number now anxious to go. Nearly a thousand emigrated to Liberia in 1832, among which was a considerable number of manumitted slaves, from Baltimore, from Norfolk, from South Carolina, from Kentucky, from Mississippi and other places. Two tribes of the natives have submitted to the Government of the Colony, from choice, and are sending their children to school among the colonists, and mingling with

them in their manners, labour and commerce, adopting their dress and language, and becoming civilized. It is also believed that the Colony possesses, by fair purchase and treaty with the neighbouring kings, territory sufficient to contain and support one million of inhabitants, as it becomes settled and cultivated by civilized people. It is believed the territory contains about two hundred thousand natives, and that the two tribes above mentioned, contain from fifteen to twenty thousand, some think twenty-five thousand. Here may we not ask the opposers of the Colonization Society for a parallel in the page of history, of such successful progress of a colony, is so short a time, say ten or twelve years, under such a combination of apparently insurmountable difficulties? Or can they devise a more propitious plan for the total abolition of the slave trade, the civilization of Africa, and the extinction of slavery in the United States, than for the people and government to turn their energies, with their surplus revenue and their other abundant resources, for the support and growth of the Colony of Liberia? I am also of opinion, that the wealthy friends of humanity in England could not better apply a portion of that immense wealth that a bountiful Providence has been pleased to try them with, than to aid with it the Colonization Society, especially at the present time, when there are so many desirous to emigrate, and cannot for want of funds. As Great Britain had as large a share in the sin of bringing those people to America, as we or any other nation have had, or larger perhaps, her noble sons of liberty and christian philanthropy ought to be willing to do their part in restoring them to their own country, or the land of their fathers, with the blessings of civilization and the enlightening influences of Christianity; although Wilberforce and several other good men have expressed a different opinion, that is, with respect to the people of England aiding by donations the Colonization Society in America. In making these remarks I have no partial views to the Society of Friends here or in England; nor to the people of colour under our care, but the general good of both the whites and the people of colour here and elsewhere.

I will now state more definitely the situation of the southern States from the northern, with respect to the general emancipation of the people of colour, to remain with the whites. The number of blacks exceed the whites, in about one-half of each of the southern States; say from one hundred miles to one hundred and fifty from the shores of the Atlantic, from the State of Maryland to Florida, a distance of more than one thousand miles along the sea-coast, there is a great majority of blacks. In some States there are two to one of whites, that is in the eastern parts of them; and in the eastern parts of South Carolina, some counties in North Carolina, and some in Virginia, four to one: but in the western parts of these States there is a majority of whites, though a great many blacks. Now, my friend, the general emancipation of such a number of these poor degraded creatures, say more than two millions, always to remain here with the white people, even if the Government should take the necessary care for their education and preparation for freedom and civilized life, which to be sure it ought, they must or will be a degraded people while the reins of government remain in the hands of the whites. Supposing the very best consequences that could follow such a measure, even that both classes should generally exercise Christian feelings towards each other—which is very improbable, if not morally impossible—the peculiarly marked difference of features and colour, will always be an insurmountable barrier to general amalgamation. Even the Society of Friends, when receiving them into membership in religious society, have no intention of giving them our sons or our daughters in marriage, nor they any view of this kind; nay, the more virtuous, the farther from it. Were they of the same colour and fe

tures that we are, in an elective republican government like this, where talents and merit are the common footsteps to esteem and preferment there would be no difficulty in universal emancipation without a separation. I have no idea that they are at all inferior to the white people in intellect; give them the same opportunities for enterprise and improvement. In viewing the two classes thus situated at present, and to remain so through a succession of ages, a mist of darkness seems to rest upon them; it is a painful, disagreeable prospect, with a longing desire for something better for the African race and our offspring too; yet this prospect is not half so dark and appalling as that of continuing them in slavery, to which we cannot avoid attaching the idea of a tremendous collision of the parties, with the extinction of one or the other, and possibly of both, in the course of time.

But I need not dwell much upon the subject of universal emancipation, in stating the best or worst, or most probable results of such a measure, because the Southern people have no more idea of the general emancipation of slaves, without colonizing them, than the Northern people have of admitting the few among *them* to equal rights and privileges. Not even the friends of humanity here, think that a general emancipation, to remain here, would better their condition; and if they did, I believe that none of the slave States laws admit of emancipation without sending them out of the State. And the ultra slave-holders are as much opposed to the Colonization Society as the Northern Manumissionists are, and have for several years past been viewing its growing popularity, and the Northern policy in Congress, with great jealousy; which keeps them upon the ground of nullification and the verge of rebellion, though they have other pretexts for it, such as the tariff, &c. But it is evident that slavery, or rather the general anticipation of its being abolished, is the primary cause of their discontent. Although this is the prevailing disposition of the governing men in most of the slave States, yet there are many men of fine talents and good character, of various religious denominations, that greatly deplore the evil of slavery, and would be glad to put their slaves in a better situation; and some have concluded it would better their condition to send them to Liberia, and others would do so willingly, but cannot for want of means; while others, no doubt from natural sympathy for their slaves, still dread the dangers and consequences of so adventurous an emigration, and perhaps some slaves are not willing to go. But I have not heard of a single family of slaves that have had the offer fairly and candidly made, but accepted it; and yet their unwillingness to go is talked of much by the Pharaoh-like slaveholders, and also by the Northern Manumissionists, as a paramount objection to the operations of the Colonization Society, both in England and America. So it would be if it were true, *but it is utterly false*; there are none sent that I have known or heard of, without their own consent; neither slaves nor free persons. It is a little singular, that the hardened slaveholders and the Northern Manumissionists are so decidedly and bitterly opposed to each other as to threaten a dangerous collision, and a political division in this Government, and at the same time are offering and urging the same reasons for demolishing the Colonization Society!—such as the unwillingness of the people of colour to go—the vast cost of sending the whole of them—the wretched situation of the colonists—and finally, the impracticability of the scheme. But here we will leave the slaveholders enclosed in their Chariots of Iron, with an iron grasp upon their slaves, bidding defiance to the denunciations and imprecations of the New-England Anti-slaveryites, and watching with a jealous eye the mild, gradually increasing influence of the Colonization Society, and take a view of the plan of the Colo-

nizationist, and that of the Universal Manumissionist, without colonization, and see which of the two is likely to abolish slavery in America.

The primary object of the latter appears to be that of producing such a revolution in public sentiment as to cause the national legislation to be brought to bear directly on the slaveholders, and compel them to emancipate their slaves. And in order to effect this, they have formed themselves into a society that they call the New-England Anti-Slavery Society; where they write and print a great many things against the evils of slavery, and against slave holders and the Colonization Society, in a style and manner that savours more of the spirit of those that would ask for fire to come down from heaven to consume their enemies, than of those that would feed them if they were hungry, and if they were thirsty, give them drink. Their principal entrenchment appears to be in Boston,\* from whence they issue their periodicals, which I suppose they circulate pretty generally through the free States; but whenever one of the papers called the *Liberator*, edited by W. L. Garrison, chancs to alight in any of the slave States, it is counted incendiary, and immediately proscribed. Their orators travel and lecture only in the free States; there they propagate their doctrines or opinions of universal emancipation, coercion, &c. with much zeal and fluency, and no doubt with sincerity on the part of many of them; but mark, my friend, they are too discreet, or too timid to travel and attempt to propagate these views, and harangue in the slave States. The general course of their efforts of late, puts me in mind of what Young says about working the ocean into a tempest, "to waft a feather or to drown a fly." And as to their brilliant illustrations of the evils and injustice of slavery; there is no more need of it in the Southern States generally, than there is to light a candle to look at the sun. Even the slaveholders generally acknowledge and deplore the evil, though many of them are not willing to emancipate, nor colonize their slaves yet. The plan of the northern anti-slaveites, instead of softening, appears to be hardening the slaveholders. The only good that they are doing, as it appears to me, is to the Colonization Society: by opposing it so inveterately, it has gained strength and energy; it is like a well constructed arch, that gains strength by pressure. The indiffererent have been awakened to action, and its warmest friends have renewed their efforts. In the course of last year, more able advocates appeared in its behalf in the public prints, than ever have in the same length of time since the Colony was founded, notwithstanding the eloquent opposition of Garrison and his colleagues, both in America and England. I would give thee a little specimen of his style and manner of writing; in his Opinion of the Colonization Society, he says:—"The superstructure of the Colonization Society rests upon the following pillars. 1. Persecution. 2. Falsehood. 3. Cowardice. 4. Infidelity. If I do not prove the Colonization Society to be a creature, *without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless, unjust, then nothing is capable of demonstration!!!*" His language to slaveholders, or of slaveholders, is, "They are hypocrites, man-stealers; and such as hold offices in the United States," he says, "are guilty of corrupt perjury, and unless they repent, will have their part in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone." This kind of language is not at all calculated to make good impressions on the minds of slaveholders, even on those of whom it may be true, and it is utterly false as respects many who hold slaves—they would be very glad to have it in their power to put their slaves in a better situation, but are hindered by the laws of the States, from emancipating them—they are not able to send them to Liberia—and while the laws of some of the free States prohibit their coming, the

\* Boston is a thousand miles from the main body and heart of slavery!

people in all of them are opposed to it. "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; and if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good." Romans xii. 20, 21. This ought to be the motto of every friend to the cause of the abolition of slavery. If this mild and gentle policy fail to make effectual impressions on the minds of hardened slaveholders, in vain may we expect to conquer them by satire and vituperation, or threats of coercion. That this is not the general policy of the Colonization Society, I need not say; but it has much more the appearance of the Anti-slaveites of New-England. I know of but one principle that they profess, or practice, that is an exception to the above Apostolic rule; and that is, self-defence in their Colony: but this is no more than the common policy of all republics and civilized nations in the world, and probably as much attached to the immediate Manumissionist as the Colonizationist; but it is evidently contrary to the spirit of the Gospel.

A Colonizationist says:—"The American Colonization Society was formed very properly at the central city of the Republic. If it had been formed in the heart of the slaveholding States, it might have been regarded, with just suspicion, as a device to perpetuate slavery. If it had originated in the free States, it would have been certainly considered and reprobated with indignation, as a scheme for forcing a general emancipation upon the South. In either event, jealousies would have been created and cherished, equally painful to the whites, and injurious to the blacks. There was one spot where it was possible to make a great national effort, so neutral, that suspicion would be disarmed; so public, that all the acts of the Society must necessarily be scrutinized by the eyes of the nation looking to that focal point." And that which ought to preclude "all possibility of honest complaint against the motives which actuated those concerned in the general management of the Society, there was scarcely a profession or denomination in the land, that did not partake in its early movements. There were Episcopalians, Quakers, Presbyterians, Catholics, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists; Slaveholders, non-Slaveholders; Civil men, and Religious men; Northern men, and Southern men; men of great and humble abilities." "Their reasons for action in some form were numerous and urgent. The safety of the whites, the ignorance and degradation of the free blacks, the comfort of the slaves, the unity of the States, the peace of the country, the prospects and happiness of the African race generally, the horrors of the slave trade, and the uncanceled debt due from the Christian community of the world, to long and greatly injured Africa." All these were stimulating motives. They declared their primary object in their Constitution was to colonize free people of colour of this country, in Africa. They knew if they succeeded in that, all the other objects would follow in its train; their object in colonizing the free people of colour, not being that of perpetuating slavery, as the Anti-slaveites construe it, but because they are not likely ever to be put upon an equal footing here with the white people, and because here, in the slave States, they are a continual obstruction to emancipation; this the Society brought to view in their preamble or apology for the plan: that is, "The number of free coloured people in some States being so great as to cause them to repeal or prevent laws of emancipation." And although the Society lays no claim to slaves, nor holds up to view any means or measures to compel masters to emancipate them; yet the Society is as willing to send those that their masters immediately emancipate, as those that are free-born. Of the three thousand colonists, more than half, I suppose, are emancipated slaves. This appears to be the first great and good work that is likely to be effected by the efforts and operations of the Colonization Society; to wit, the abolition of slavery in the United States.

And although this might not have been the prospect of the Society as being the first, yet it is now in accordance with their most ardent wishes. Let the opposers of the Colonization Society say what they will against its operations, as being a check to the spirit of emancipation, an obstruction to the abolition of slavery in America; facts are against them; and it is evident to a demonstration, to all that know the general disposition and situation of the slave States, before the Society was organized, and since, that just in proportion to the knowledge of the views of this Society, has been the increase of a disposition to investigate slavery, and the awakening of a spirit of emancipation.

Alas! how prone men are to be influenced by objects and circumstances with which they are surrounded, or that happen to be nearest to them; just so it is with many people in England; they think as their government has abolished slavery throughout the British dominions with the dash of a pen, or the passing of a law, that the United States government may do the same, without considering the vastly different situations of the two governments, and the different situation of the whites and people of colour in each. In England, the seat of legislation being at a great distance from the body of slavery, and the Atlantic rolling between, their slaves and free people of colour are already colonized in their own native West India Islands. And so it is with the New England immediate Manumissionists; they have so few people of colour that they do not consider them an evil, and hence they conclude that the Southern States may do as they have done—free them at once; but I have no doubt at all, if there was as large a proportion of coloured people in the New England States as in the Southern, there would be but one voice, and that would be for colonizing them somewhere, as I have said of the people of England in the fore part of my letter.

The plan and operations of the Colonization Society, are calculated to keep the United States in union, by its regard to the Federal Constitution and the laws of the States.

Fourteen States have already united with the plan, viz: New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana: five of the above are slave States, nine free States; and nearly all the ecclesiastical bodies in the United States have fully expressed their opinion, that the Society merits the consideration and favour of the whole Christian community, and recommend it to their patronage. The Society, by aiming at a united action of all the States, avoids sectional jealousies; and while it preserves fraternal feelings throughout the Union, it prevents a separate action of any portion of the States from an abrupt and violent mode of operation, which would be difficult and dangerous, and might quickly extinguish every hope of relieving the slave population. Hence it may be seen, that the opposers of the American Colonization Society have a tremendous force of public opinion against them, and that the immediate manumissionists of the North, and the hardened and determined slaveholders of the South, are its only inveterate enemies; and these together, form, it is believed, but a very small part of the great community of the United States.

I apprehend that some Friends in England think that it would be better to colonize the people of colour in some territory upon this continent than in Africa: supposing, probably, as some of us once did, that a tropical climate would be too great a change; but the present state of the Colony shows that the coloured people now enjoy their health as well there as they did here; of this I am informed by private letters from the colonists, and from several respectable Captains of vessels who have visited the Colony; and from the report of a committee of the colonists, contradicting the false reports circulated in America respecting their condition. They clearly testify

that they are contented with their situation, and have no desire to return to America; and they enjoy their health as well as they did in this country. And the Agents of the Colony officially state to the Board of Managers at Washington, that the bills of mortality in the Colony, generally, were not greater than they were in Baltimore and Philadelphia. All that I have written in this letter of the state of the Colony, and of the increasing influence of the Colonization Society in the United States, is from well authenticated information. The grand experiment is made; the American Colonization Society has proved to the world that the colonization of the people of colour of the United States, in the land of their fathers, is practicable, and not only so, but very probable, both from the state of things at present, and from natural and rational anticipations of the future. Time and funds, with a simultaneous movement of the United States, are only wanting, with the Divine blessing superadded. And as to funds, one of its friends says, "Is a nation like this to be embarrassed by an annual appropriation of a little more than a million of dollars to the cause of humanity? A nation that can extinguish in a year twelve millions of national debt, and at the same time prosecute with vigour all its majestic plans of defence and internal improvement? A nation, one of whose states can hazard six millions of dollars, on the project of opening a canal? A nation, whose canvass whitens every sea, and enters almost every harbour of the globe? A nation, which possesses two millions of square miles, and is destined within the passing century to embosom a white population of eighty millions.— With the past smiles of Divine Providence, our national debt will soon be paid. And from that glad hour, let the government provide liberally for all its necessary operations, then give to our cause but the surplus of its revenues, and as regards the expense of emigration it will (at no distant day) furnish the means of granting to every African exile amongst us, a happy home in the land of his fathers."

Do but let the avenues of emigration be kept open both for the free people of colour that wish to go, and the slaves that the masters are free to send, but only with their own consent; let the plan of the American Colonization Society be brought into, and kept in full operation, by the united energies of the friends of humanity; let the common people contribute their units and the competent their tens, and the wealthy their hundreds and thousands, and the State Legislatures their tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands, as some of them have already done; these aids, independent of congressional or national aid, will enable the Society to push forward their designs, to enlarge the Colony at Liberia, and to establish other colonies by the citizens of that, along the coasts of Africa, and to enable them to promote the internal improvement of the colonies, to erect public edifices; to construct roads and bridges; to establish schools, and to provide for the general comfort and happiness of the colonists. Then we shall in a few years see there will be in Africa, a well ordered, prosperous, and intelligent Republic, stretching along the coast and penetrating the continent; the forests vanishing before the citizens, and the wilderness becoming a fruitful field; then tens of thousands of willing emigrants may be safely received and comfortably accommodated. I have no doubt that if the Colony was now large enough to receive ten thousand emigrants annually, and the funds of the Society sufficient, that number would go the present year, and so on, increasing from that number to twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty thousand annually. Then we shall not hear of the free people of colour, either in the Northern or Southern States, claiming this as their native country; but they will be anxious to go to the land of their fathers by thousands. Humane masters would no longer hesitate to encourage their slaves to go, but feel themselves greatly relieved of their burdens and their anxieties. The most hardened

slaveholders would be softened into submission to the plan; the increasing facility of internal improvements, would tend greatly to enhance the value of property; so that pecuniary interest itself would induce them to let go their iron grasp upon their slaves more than all the positive denunciations against the injustice and the evils of slavery; more than the threatening imprecation of Garrison and the immediate Manumissionists, with the prospect of national legislation to compel them. Here the fable of the wind and the sun, striving which should first make the traveller lay off his cloak, is strikingly illustrative of the two plans; the most satirical language of the Manumissionists, with their threats of coercion, like the wind, the stronger it blows upon the traveller, only makes him draw his cloak about him with a firmer grasp; but the gentle and gradual operations of the Colonizationist, like the increasing heat of the sun, as it rises higher and higher, will make him lay it off.

The want of extension and capacity of the Colony to receive emigrants in such numbers as are, or may be ready to go, are my main fears. But could the community at large of the United States, feel a firm confidence, that the African race could be all-removed from amongst us, and comfortably settled in Africa within the present century, there would be no lack of funds to carry on the work; millions might be raised, without law, and without the least fear of any pecuniary loss to ourselves or our posterity, from a prospect of the great increase of internal improvement, and the enhancement of the value of property, that would naturally follow such an event.—I have no doubt but there are thousands, who, independently of humane motives, (lid they feel such a confidence) would be induced from pecuniary interest, to give one-tenth of their estates in support of such a measure, as I have heard several men of respectability say; some that were only possessed of a competency, and others that were wealthy, some slaveholders and some non-slaveholders, some indifferent, and some alive to the cause of Christian humanity.

And furthermore, when the Colony shall have attained to such an extent and ability as to receive any number of emigrants that might come; say from ten to fifty thousand annually; it may be fairly ~~inferred~~ that between this African Republic and the United States, there would be a great commercial intercourse, very advantageous to both nations; which might in time so increase the revenue of this Government, as to reimburse it for all its expenditures in the benevolent work. It may also be fairly inferred, that the expense of emigration at this stage of the business will be greatly lessened, because many free persons of colour would go at their own expense, and many others would work their passage in commercial vessels; and it would be an opening for thousands of them to engage in maritime employments, who are now very numerous in all our sea-port towns, and scarcely get employment sufficient to procure them the necessaries of life.

The Yearly Meeting of Friends of North Carolina, have sent several hundreds of those they have had under their care, to Liberia, for which they never could get a law to emancipate them in this State, though they petitioned for it oftentimes for the space of fifty years; always finding the chief objection of the Legislature, to be that of the great number, and degraded and low character of the free persons of colour already in the State. We prefer sending them to Africa rather than to any of the free States, or to Canada; because we believe *that* is their proper home. We have sent some to the State of Ohio, and since then, hundreds of blacks have been in a manner compelled by the laws of that State, or the prejudices of some of its citizens, to leave it and go to Canada. We have sent some to Indiana, but that State has passed laws, we hear, to forbid any more coming. We have sent some to Pennsylvania; but about two years ago, we shipped near one hun-

dred from Newbern and Beaufort, to Chester; they were not suffered to land, neither there, nor in Philadelphia, nor yet on the Jersey shore, opposite; but had to float on the Delaware river until the Colonization Society took them into possession; then they were landed in Jersey, ten miles below Philadelphia, and re-shipped for Africa. The North Carolina Yearly Meeting has contributed thousands of dollars to the Colonization Society; it has probably done more for it than any other religious community has in America; not merely because it has provided us an assylum for the people of colour under our care; but upon the ground of our belief that it is a great humane and benevolent Institution. I am not informed of a single member of the Society of Friends in this country, not even in any of the slave States, who is not in favour of colonizing them in Africa; we believe generally, that colonizing them there gradually, is the most likely way to put a peaceful end to slavery, and place them in the great scale of equality with the rest of the civilized world. Some northern philanthropists say, "do them justice and leave consequences;" that is, free them immediately and universally, and let them abide here. We believe this would not be doing justice; we conceive that if our offspring were in Africa, and had been there the same length of time, in the same situation every way, that they have been and now are here, that we should not think that any thing short of sending them back to this, the country of their fathers, would be doing justice, if it could be done. So we feel bound by the immutable principles of justice and the commandments of our Great Saviour and Redeemer, to do unto them; as we would they would do unto us, as much as we can and as far as practicable.

I have reflected much upon this subject, in years past and of late, and the more I reflect upon it, the more I am confirmed of its being a great and good work; and that it is not only practicable, but very probable that there will be a separation generally of the two colours or casts of people, in the United States, at longest within the passing century, if not within a shorter time. And the happy and inevitable results that must attend such an event, affords a truly pleasing prospect; 1st. The extinction of slavery in the United States. 2d. The restoration of the blacks to their proper scale of being and existence in the human family. 3d. The civilization of Africa. 4th. The total abolition of the slave trade there. 5th. The regeneration of the United States to a more permanent political condition, and her exoneration as a nation from the guilt and penalty of slavery by the great Ruler of the universe; in which she may enjoy more abundantly the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

Now, any one of these five objects, independent of any of the others, is sufficient to justify the work and cost that it would require to remove all the people of colour in the United States and settle them comfortably in Africa—enough to induce the sympathy and pecuniary aid of every friend to the human family. But when we take all these important objects into view, and see that they must inevitably follow, or be effected in the transpiration of such an event; it ought to induce every man in the world, that is acquainted with the subject, and capable of affording any aid, not only to sympathize, but to use his best exertions to promote and encourage, and pray for the support of, this great and benevolent plan.

The roots of the tree of slavery are too deep and too widely extended here to be torn up by the strong wind of northern satire and eloquence; and perhaps too deep and broad to be torn up at all: but support and aid the Colonization scheme, and the tree of slavery, large as it is, may be gradually cut down, and every chip and sprig of it be removed from this continent. And then the stump and roots thereof will die in the ground, without any band of iron or brass in the tender grass to preserve them.

And now, my dear friend, I think it is time, high time, for me to begin to think of a conclusion, having extended my letter to an uncommon length, and yet too short in some parts to be clearly understood, and I fear much too short in the whole, to do ample justice to the subject, both in extent and capacity, or to fully relieve my own mind.

I will now conclude with some extracts from some of the writings of two members of the Colonization Society, as being in accordance with my own views and feelings. "There is not, we believe, another benevolent enterprise on earth, so well calculated to secure the favourable opinion, and enlist the hearty good will of ALL MEN, as this, when its objects and bearings are fully understood. In relation to this Society, it is eminently the fact, that opposition and indifference have their origin in prejudice or want of information. Ignorance may raise an objection which it requires knowledge to remove; and to rest one's refusal to co-operate in what he is told is a good work, on his own ignorance, is both weak and wicked. Especially in relation to a benevolent enterprise of such magnitude as this, and which has been some ten or fifteen years before the public; the plea of ignorance is made with a very ill grace." "We may boldly challenge the annals of human nature, for the record of a human plan for the melioration of the condition or advancement of the happiness of our race, which promised more unmixed good, or more comprehensive beneficence, than that of African Colonization, if carried into full execution. Its benevolent purpose is not limited by the confines of one continent, nor to the prosperity of a solitary race; but embraces two of the largest quarters of the earth, and the peace and the happiness of both of the descriptions of their present inhabitants with the countless millions of their posterity who are to succeed. It appeals for aid and support to the friends of liberty here and elsewhere." May the Lord hasten the consummation of the plan as far as it is consistent with his will, in his own good time.

Farewell, and am thy friend.

JEREMIAH HUBBARD.

## PROSPECTIVE GRADUAL EMANCIPATION.

### SPEECH OF MR. BIRNEY.

- On Saturday evening last, Mr. *James G Birney*, of Mercer county, Ky. delivered an address in the Court House, explanatory of the principles, object, &c. of the "Kentucky Society for the relief of the state from slavery."

Although the speaker was evidently laboring under considerable indisposition, he did ample justice to his deeply interesting and important subject. The following is presented as a mere outline of his remarks. It is written out from hasty notes taken during the delivery of the address.

Mr. Birney commenced by stating the origin and object of the Society. The proposition for the formation of such a Society had been before the public some considerable time. According to the original proposal, the society was to be organized whenever fifty slaveholders should signify their desire to become members by signing the pledge. That number was obtained more than a year ago, and the meeting for the formation of the society would have been called during the past summer, had it not been rendered impracticable by the prevalence of the epidemic. The meeting was held at this place in December last, at which time the present society was organized.

The object of the Society was single. It was unconnected with any

other plan. Every member pledged himself to emancipate all slaves born his property, thereafter, on their reaching the age of twenty-five years; and if females their offspring with them. That was the only pledge. It was given by the members in honor and good feeling. There was no coercion, and any member might withdraw who felt disposed to do so. Membership was not confined to slaveholders; the society addressed itself to all classes of the community. It was connected with no religious denomination; it had no relation to any political party. It was above the range of partizan warfare.

There were great political reasons why the state of slavery could not be regarded as perpetual. There were causes in swift operation to destroy it. It was evident, that unless something effective be done in relation to this subject, almost immediately, the energies of the people would be unable to shake off the evil.

Slavery could not exist forever. Public sentiment had pronounced its downfall. It stood in opposition to the spirit of the age—to the progress of human improvement; it could not abide the light of the nineteenth century. The South American States, which are immeasurably behind us in every thing else, are yet before us on this subject. The singular spectacle is presented to the world of Brazil, the most impotent of despotic governments, and the United States, the freest and most enlightened of republics, standing side by side supporting the fabric of slavery. Can this juxtaposition, so shocking, so inconsistent, long abide the indignant scrutiny and denunciation of mankind? It cannot. Public sentiment from the four quarters of the world will roll upon us in heavy and merited rebuke; and we must either relinquish our national character and reputation, or we must relinquish our grasp upon our fellow-men.

Public sentiment is irresistible and almost omnipotent. Look at its progress and force in England on this subject. In 1826 Mr. Canning expressed his conviction that nothing could be done to destroy West India Slavery.

"Things must remain as they are." In a few revolving years, public sentiment in England has reversed this decision of her great statesman, and in spite of the power of "the West India interest," has knocked off the fetters from the West India negro. It spoke, and king and ministers and parliament were obliged to obey its behest.

The force of public opinion is eminently seen in putting an end to the slave trade. That traffic in human flesh and sinew was carried on in England, not only without shame, but with government patronage. Good men were engaged in it. Large pecuniary interests were involved. "By this craft, many had their wealth." And yet it has been but about forty-seven years since Mr. Wilberforce introduced the subject of the slave trade into the British Parliament, and now this traffic, once esteemed innocent, if not honorable, is regarded as piracy, and punished with death, and those who pursue it, considered as little better than incarnate demons. And in this country public sentiment is fast meliorating. In Virginia, the subject of slavery has been freely discussed in her Legislature—and Maryland is determined to rid herself of the evils of a black population. Kentucky is rapidly awakening. The public penetration sees the impossibility of the perpetuity of slavery, and the only question of patriotic anxiety is, how shall we get rid of it? If slavery continue unmodified, the beautiful Ohio must, one day—and that day, not so distant as we may imagine—be the boundary between the white and black races. The slave states will be depopulated of their white inhabitants.

Mr. B. then adverted to the rapid increase of the slave population. It was owing not to their peculiar nature—the natural fecundity of the blacks was not greater than that of the whites, was less in fact—but to adventitious causes. [Mr. B. then exhibited some striking statistical facts on the com-

parative increase of the two races, showing that the ratio of the blacks was two or three fold over that of the whites in some of the states.]

How long, said Mr. B. can this state of things be borne? Will not the white population be swallowed up? What are the causes of this growing increase of the African over the European race? It is owing, in the first place, to the introduction of slaves. The domestic slave traffic is carried on with an enormity, only inferior to the African slave trade. *High minded and chivalrous* Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, furnish the victims of this infamous traffic, and ally themselves to the African Slaver. The second cause of the rapid excess of the black over the white population is, that the tendency of slavery is to displace, and drive off the whites. In the South, the situation of a poor white man, in the vicinity of the wealthy planter, is uncomfortable and degrading. He removes to a free state, where there is scope for his industry and exertion. The poor white man cannot subsist—labor is disgraceful in the vicinity of slaves. Slavery impedes improvement in civilization and science. A system of common schools cannot flourish in a slave state. How much soever I approve the object, I fear, said Mr. B. that the efforts of the friends of common school education in this state, are destined to disappointment. In Louisiana \$380,000 had been expended; and, according to Gov. Romain, 380 indigent youth had not been educated.

There is a fact connected with this subject, which may appear chimerical to many—but it is one which time will certainly develope. Slave labor, when the population becomes dense, and the means of subsistence less abundant, will sink in value, and become finally valueless. We are surrounded on all sides by free labor; West India free negro labor will, in a few years, come into competition, in the culture of southern productions, with slave labor. Then the time will come, as John Randolph once remarked, when, instead of the slave running away from the master, “the master will run away from the slave.”

Mr. B. then remarked upon the impossibility of keeping in subjection the increasing millions of slaves of this country. Standing armies would be vain. We could not look for assistance from our neighbors of the free states, whose interference or even advice, we reject now with indignation. We now tell them we can manage the matter; they will then tell us to manage it ourselves. Neither can the slave states help each other.

But has Kentucky any interest in this condition of the Southern States? She has. Compare her census with Ohio. [Here Mr. B. gave the census of the two states from 1790, showing that Ohio was now, nearly double Kentucky in free population; and that the ratio in Kentucky of the white increase, was diminishing.] What is the cause of this? Where are the sons of Kentucky? Go to Ohio, to Indiana, and Illinois, and you will find them. They have left their native soil, more fertile and salubrious, to be free from the curse of slavery. Shall we, asked Mr. B. remain in stupid repose, till this cloud, not larger at first than a man's hand, increase, rise, and spread over the whole horizon, and pour down upon us furious ruin and destruction? What must be done? [He then expressed his warm approbation of the Colonization Society; but gave it as his conviction that it could not relieve us of the black population. He regarded it, however, as a valuable auxiliary to the cause of gradual emancipation.]

Mr. B. denied that this scheme favoured the idea of amalgamation, and answered the question, How shall the races live together? They live together now, said Mr. B., and why not then. This objection is predicated on the expectation that they will continue forever in degradation and vice. But the melioration of knowledge, science, and liberty must be brought to bear upon them; they must be raised in the scale of respectability and im-

provement. And why can they not be? I do not deny, said he, that much inconvenience and difficulty will attend the execution of our plan. It is to be expected; and it becomes us to bear with patience all the difficulty that will attend it. If the negroes are degraded, who has made them so? We have but one alternative before us—slavery perpetuated,—finally to bring down upon us certain, inevitable, resistless ruin, or gradual emancipation? Which shall we choose? We are urged to the latter choice by every motive that can impel men to action; by love of country,—by our interest in the welfare of posterity,—by the dictates of prudence,—and by the sacred incentives of humanity and philanthropy.

[*Western Luminary, Lexington, Ky. March 5, 1834.*]

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[COMMUNICATION.]

DUANESBURGH, N. Y. FEB. 17, 1834.

Extensive as the circulation of the African Repository is, and ardently as the subject of colonization, in certain quarters, has been discussed, still, in many places, information upon the subject is very limited. The extent and intense character of the claims of colonization upon the community at large, have yet to be felt. Editors of our daily and weekly journals do not often find it convenient to bring the matter before their readers; and, for reasons too well known, some connected with the public press, are indisposed to give the cause a favourable notice.

The formation of County Societies, where State Societies exist, is yet but partial; and were they more general than they are, they would be inadequate to the diffusion and bringing home of the information requisite to operate upon, and call out individual liberality, in the promotion of the cause. Local associations, as at present evinced in the Temperance reform, and as has been evinced in other objects, operate with an efficiency altogether surprising, when acting in concert, and in subordination to a kindred institution of more general character. This may, though it escaped my attention, have been suggested before. And if it have, is it not worthy of being repeated? Let it be exemplified by some distinguished characters in our principal cities, and be publicly noticed; and in places more remote, the laudable example will soon be followed. Let it be distinctly understood that such local societies may, at pleasure, be auxiliary to the County, State, or Parent Society.

It is cheering to find this association, notwithstanding some unaccountable forms of opposition made to it, advancing in its hallowed march. It is trusted, that, from the pursuit of its exalted aims, it will not be turned aside, either by the suspicious sensitiveness of southern patriotism, or by the reckless fanaticism of the ill-advised northern abolitionist. The idea suggested by a correspondent of the Repository, appears of great importance:—that the Colonization Society continue to occupy its own general and appropriate ground; disavowing all responsibility for the peculiar and individual views of its friends. Surely the enlightened Southerner, when he seriously reflects upon the subject, cannot in earnest frown upon this Institution. It is but a small item in that sum of causation which is irresistibly at work for the final emancipation of every human being upon earth; and to the action of which none gives a mightier impulse than himself. The patriot of the North, on this subject, will have no conflict with him of the South. Their principle of action is one; and a temperate, while earnest, following of it out, will show them in harmony in the practical result.

With the *abolitionist*, it seems impossible, practically, to sympathize.—The difficulty, indeed, is not in the principle of abstract right. Here all are agreed. But as a matter of fact, can the black man, in this land, ever occupy the elevated ground of the white man? No, never. Is the abolitionist himself actually prepared for *family amalgamation*? No. And yet, short of this, the son of Africa can never enjoy an equality with his fellow citizen, of European origin. Could the millions of our African race, at this day, obtain an absolute and unqualified emancipation how little would the most favoured of them have gained? This little, however, at present is impossible to be had. Shall we, then, listen to the abolitionist and do nothing, because every thing cannot be done at once? Shall we refuse to make thousands *truly* free and happy, because millions cannot be *nominally* so? Must the emancipated black man be continued in debasement of condition, because others of his race are in bondage? The truth is but imperfectly felt, that emancipation would do little,—may it not be said, nothing, worse than nothing,—for the unfortunate negro, if he must remain in the land of white men.

But, no: Liberia opens to him a country he can call his own, and there he may be free indeed. In Liberia the American patriot sees the black man's home. There he sees, with pleasure, an avenue opening by which light may travel, and spread its benign influence, over benighted Africa.—Benevolence, with joy, contemplates at no great distance, the melioration of man's condition in that much injured land. Christianity marks, with exultation, a commanding station for her missionary heralds; and beneficent calculation finds, in the present acquisitions of Liberia, more, far more, than an adequate compensation for all that has been expended upon it by American liberality. That liberality has but commenced its donations. When it is once known to our country at large, that the American Colonization Society, beyond any other one of the age, embraces a combination of the interests of humanity, benevolence, patriotism, justice, and Christianity, funds will not be refused for the accomplishment of objects so dear to the hearts of good men.

CIVIS.

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#### FROM LIBERIA.

*The Rev. J. B. PINNEY, temporary Colonial Agent, to the Rev. R. R. GURLEY, Secretary of the Colonization Society.*

LIBERIA, MARCH 7, 1834.

VERY DEAR SIR:—I have the pleasure, by return of the *Jupiter*, to announce our safe arrival in Liberia, on the last day of '33. With the usual exception of sea-sickness, there was an almost perfect exemption from disease during the passage. My own health, which was somewhat feeble, when I had the pleasure of seeing you last, mended rapidly, and I landed here in almost perfect health. With very slight exceptions, it has continued good up to this date. The voyage, which was protracted by contrary winds to 56 days, was nevertheless deprived of much tedium, by the pleasantness of the company, all of whom were in excellent spirits up to the time of our arrival. In praise of our accommodations, however, little can be said. The ship's deck was lumbered from stem to stern, which added greatly to the natural unpleasantness of being extremely crowded. Neither passengers nor emigrants had reason to be satisfied; the latter especially, 54 in number, were literally stowed together. Nothing but the smiles of

Providence, in continuing almost uninterrupted smooth weather, and thus enabling many to remain on deck all night, could have prevented disease, arising from their crowded state.

Peculiar care, I would advise, should ever be taken to guard against such occurrences. The fault at present cannot be charged upon Mr. McPhail, who, as I can testify, used every exertion to prevent it, by calling a survey. The number which he intended to embark, was but 50; though soon after the vessel set sail, it was ascertained there were 54. For this number, I have given Mr. Bogart a receipt, but do most thoroughly believe it would be perfectly just to refuse payment for the extra four, whose presence only helped to *increase* the discomfort of the others.

The emigrants were, with a few exceptions, sent to Caldwell for the first week, until, by the most strenuous exertions, one of the receptacles sent out two years since, was erected at Monrovia, when all were placed in it; and I rejoice to say, have, under Dr. Todsen's management, all passed through the first attack of the fever, excepting one very aged female, who refused to take medicine, and two small children, who died soon after our arrival. The attacks of fever have been very light in almost every case. Indeed, so slight were they, and so long delayed in the case of the mission families, that our hopes for several weeks, were sanguine, that all would escape. But I lament to add, that in two cases we have been mournfully disappointed. Mrs. Wright, after attending upon her husband nearly three weeks, with unremitting attention, was attacked with the fever, just as he had become convalescent. Her case did not present any alarming symptoms for several days, until unfortunately, some medicine was, by imprudence in the nurse, administered in too great quantities, which caused her speedy and sudden dissolution. Mr. Savage, a young gentleman from the western part of New York, followed her in one or two days, worn to a mere skeleton by the wasting fever which had preyed upon him for nearly six months, before the physician's arrival. They were both lovely, and neither could fail, even upon a short acquaintance, to awaken an uncommon interest. We mourn our loss, not theirs. The other members of the missions are all recovering, and able to walk out occasionally. I may add, that the general health in the Colony is at present very good—the deaths very few.

By some oversight, a commission was given me, unaccompanied with a line of instruction from the Board, in relation to their views, or even a hint to guide my conduct; and by an equally surprising casualty, two vessels from the United States have arrived without bringing any despatches. I regret this the more, as, notwithstanding I had anticipated many difficulties, I have found them vastly exceed my imaginings, which I shall, in no small degree, attribute to this very destitution of intelligence from Washington. You will perceive I am preparing a screen for any mistakes which may be developed in the subjoined account of my proceedings.

The military companies of Monrovia met me at the wharf of the Rev. C. M. Waring, and politely escorted me to the Agency House, where I received the Colonial seals from the Vice-Agent, G. R. McGill, and entered at once on the duties of my temporary office. The fact that it was temporary, did not lessen in any degree the sense of responsibility and the desire to do all in my power to advance the interests of the Colony. Wherein I have failed; it must be attributed to any other cause than intentional neglect. You are doubtless aware that affairs were very much deranged, and that very many things needed immediate attention; but the reality in either respect you cannot know, for you have not seen. Almost every public building needed repairs and expense. Unsettled bills for coffins, nurses, rented stores and houses, mechanics, &c. in addition to floating accept-

ances and orders by my predecessor, to the amount of two or three thousand dollars, and the current expenses of the Colonial officers and school teachers, after his departure, came in upon me like a flood. Many of these accounts, from the situation of the claimants, and all of them on account of their long standing, could not, with justice, be left any longer unsettled. To satisfy them, and even to meet the current expenses of the Agency House, I could resort only to orders and drafts. This I have done; and though the amount may appear very great, I am convinced that justice to claimants, and the best interests of the Society required such a course; and I confidently believe the proceeding will meet the approbation of the Board.

The public Store, if well supplied with goods, would have greatly lightened the expenses and drafts: but so far from helping, the necessity of having some supply of goods, of which it could afford none, has compelled me to purchase from vessels to the amount of twelve or thirteen hundred dollars, for which I have also drafted. The utter paucity of available property on my arrival, will clearly appear to you on examining the paper (A), wherein is an inventory of public property left by Dr. Mechlin, a part of which had been expended. (No. 1) A list of acceptances and orders, also left by him, with a written permission for Mr. Rysswurm to draft for them two months after his departure. (No. 2) The salaries due to officers up to the date of my arrival. (No. 3) It will be seen by the schedule of agency property, how completely the house was destitute of necessary articles for daily consumption: To supply this deficit, I had recourse to merchants and captains for sugar, tea, hams, &c. &c.; and also for \$100 in cash, to purchase fresh provisions, as they were needed. This, I obtained from Capt. Peters, and included in his draft. The same document will make apparent the destitute state of the store. The provisions on hand, from which more than fifty infirm persons and widows were drawing, consisted only of 4 barrels of beef, 300 kroos of rice, and some damaged meal. In order as much as possible to supply their necessities, and supply the labourers with provisions, all the beef which could be obtained at a reasonable price from vessels touching here, was procured; but the supply was wholly inadequate to the demand; and we are now under the necessity of issuing only rice and meal to the infirmary list.

The necessity of having some goods on hand to pay off labourers, and supply the schooner with a cargo for trade, has compelled me also to make some purchases; the expectation of receiving a supply from America, has induced me to proceed no farther than the urgent wants of our situation demanded. The inadequacy of the supplies, notwithstanding the purchases mentioned, has been a constant obstacle to the progress of the current business; and in order to accomplish the works mentioned below, I have been compelled to give many orders, at a double expense of time, trouble, and funds; one half of which might have been saved by a well supplied store. Allow me, while on this subject, to add a few words as to the importance, nay, the absolute necessity of a well supplied store. The Society will ever be obliged to employ agents and labourers. These must be paid. A public store, with a well selected assortment of goods, would meet their wants, and secure to the Society 75 per cent. profit on their investments.—Take a case: For repairing the public boat, the bill is \$20. The debt can be liquidated—

1. By Cash or Draft,	-	-	-	-	\$20 00
2. " Order, which becomes Draft,	-	-	-	-	20 00
3. " purchasing goods on the Coast,	-	-	-	-	15 00
4. " supply of goods sent from the United States,	-	-	-	-	10 00

The result in favour of the store well supplied, is one hundred per cent.; or in other words, \$100, expended in America, in the purchase of suitable

goods, will procure the same amount of labour as \$200 sent out in silver, or paid by draft. Moreover, setting aside its pecuniary advantage, its convenience in furnishing a constant supply of necessary articles to the colonists, its tendency to prevent the monopoly which would otherwise often exist; its regulating the market, and thus securing to the poor, a defence against extortion, and finally its necessity in the procuring of rice, &c.—are sufficient to make it an object of the first importance. Add to all this, the fact that the Society would be at no additional expense, it paying at present a store-keeper and book-keeper, who could transact ten times the business now performed, and prevent the apparent waste in paying salaries without exacting corresponding labor. In this way, and this alone, according to my judgment, can the Society ever make the public schooner support itself. The balance against her last year was over one thousand, eight hundred dollars; being the amount of her expenses over her receipts. To be profitable, she must be in constant employ; and not make a short trip, and then to lie by a month. In order to secure constant employment, the public store must be well supplied, and one or two factories, for the purchase of various articles, be kept on the coast. Her time might, when not engaged in other necessary employment, be divided between trading on the coast, and carrying goods to, and bringing away the purchased articles from, the factories. Without some such plan, she will always prove a burden and expense.

I will proceed now to particularise the various sources of expense, since my arrival; and as I have said much already concerning the schooner, I will commence with it.

#### *The Schooner.*

We arrived in January, and, as you are doubtless aware, missed the harvest of rice, which can be procured abundantly in October and November, and with difficulty at any other period. Unfortunately, after her return from Goree, and the departure of Dr. Mechlin, she was allowed to remain unemployed, and thus neglected to improve the most favourable season of the year. This was, in a measure, unavoidable, both on account of her situation, and the utter impossibility of obtaining a cargo from the public store. There being but little rice in the Colony, and a probability that much would be needed, I determined at once to make an effort to obtain some, by sending her to leeward. With all my efforts, she was only able to sail on the 26th of February. This great delay was rendered necessary by the time occupied in making repairs. These were very extensive.—On the first attempt to heave her out, she sunk on account of the openness of her seams; and when, after a thorough caulking, we succeeded in throwing her down to examine her bottom, I was almost disheartened. The copper was worn quite through in very many places, and very thin in all. On the keel, it was much torn up, and four sheets off, occasioned by her having struck on the bar at the commencement of her voyage to Goree.—In these places, the planks very much resembled a honey comb, so completely had the worms bored them. We were under the necessity of making a little lead, given us by the Captain of a British Brig of War, and a large supply of pitch, the substitutes for copper, and have rendered her fit for one trip at least. Captain Cooper and his mate made an entire set of new sails, from materials kindly left us by the Commander of the U. S. Ship John Adams, before my arrival, whose liberality also supplied us with his own six-oared barge, provided with awnings, &c. &c. &c. The schooner has received a new coat of paint, and with the new sails makes a beautiful appearance. The expense of these repairs amounted to nearly three hundred dollars. To this, I have added a cargo of nearly fourteen hundred dollars, and sent her down the coast. The season is, very unfa-

vourable; but notwithstanding this, I have sent no ardent spirits, which is considered indispensable to successful trade at any season. I shall await her return with deep interest. I cannot be too urgent, if you desire to preserve the vessel, that no time be lost in sending out entire new copper and nails; cordage for rigging; cloth for a suit of sails, and for mending old ones. No time should be lost. Two anchors, of from 270 to 350 pounds are also needed. Both masts are badly injured by the dry rot, and can be supplied cheaper and better from the United States, than we can obtain them here.

#### *The Hospitals.*

Had no other reason existed, we might have accommodated all the emigrants who came with us in the buildings already erected at Caldwell. But believing that the interests of the Colony and of Africa, connected with the preservation of the lives of the missionaries, who could not obtain convenient houses at Caldwell, and would have been too far from medical attendance, had Dr. Todsen been sent up with the emigrants, I determined to permit them all to remain on the Cape, and proceed at once to erect the two hospitals. In less than three weeks, nearly all the emigrants were located in one of them, which makes a most beautiful appearance from the harbour. The other is placed at right angles with it, on the same lot; and but for the want of timber, would have been completed ere this. I trust it will be ready to receive any emigrants who may come in the next expedition. Had no other reason moved me to this speedy erection, the importance of saving the timber would have been ample. Already much of the timber and shingles, even the cypress ones sent from America, have been considerably injured by exposure; certainly far more than they could have been on a building. The one finished has been whitewashed, as have also those at Caldwell; a very cheap mode of giving them a neat appearance.

#### *The Agency House and Yard.*

Notwithstanding the expensive bill of Mr. Ruffin, amounting to more than \$600, most of which I have drafted for, the house I found in a state hardly tenable. The floor of the upper piazza was torn up behind, and partially at the two ends. The bannisters and railing for the same part were all down. The lower piazza floor and frame were entirely torn up, and the boards lost, having access to the house on either side only by plank. The sills and studs were decayed all around, from the united attacks of ants and weather; so that the house had sunk, and nothing prevented its falling but the piazza. The doors were unbinged, and the plastering off more or less. I have endeavoured to put it in repair, and have made considerable progress. New sills have been put in all around; the weatherboarding, which was torn off, replaced with new. The deep hole under the lower floor of the piazza has been filled up with rocks and sand, and a mason is now employed in laying a brick pavement instead of a floor, trusting that neither ants nor rain will injure it. The house has received a coat of paint, and the carpenter is now busily engaged in repairing the floor of the upper piazza. The lot attached to the house has been enclosed with a secure paling; and I intend that pine-apples, limes, &c. &c. shall replace the rank growth of weeds which have been cut down and burnt. Your Society will, without doubt, need a new building in one or two years, for the Agent; and though I shall not be here, I would unhesitatingly advise, that its walls be of stone.

#### *The Flag Staff.*

Just before my departure for America last year, the flag staff was taken down for repairs. By the neglect of those who raised it, its foundation was

not rendered secure, and the tornado of last summer overturned and broke it. As a temporary substitute, the flag has been raised on a branch of the high tree on the Cape, but I hope in a few days to see a new staff erected: The delay hitherto has been caused by the difficulty of procuring suitable timber. The expenses of these repairs I intend to charge upon the Colonial treasury, and if it is found too poor, I trust your future legislation will replenish it by a more general tariff and heavier taxes. Indeed the time when the colonists should begin to support themselves, has arrived; and a new jail, court house, buildings for schools and public offices, they ought at once to erect at their own expense.

These constitute the main sources of expenditure hitherto; they are necessarily large, owing to the circumstance before alluded to; but there is one consideration, that they are only temporary, and may not occur again; at least not so many at the same moment. The final accounts relative to them, I have concluded to delay until the period of quarterly reports.

In relation to other transactions, the situation of the Eboes and Congoes early attracted my attention. They were in a state approaching to war, from disputes and jealousies relative to their officers. It was apprehended that I should find considerable difficulty in reconciling them again; however, by permitting each tribe to have a set of officers, as had been done always previously to the last election, all parties seemed satisfied. Concerning their location, I have had more perplexity. By a law made by Mr. Ashmun, they were to have been located three miles from any other settlement. Lott Carey placed them, or rather attempted to place them, immediately back of some lands given the colonists on Stockton, about half way from Monrovia to Caldwell, hence called the "Half Way Farms," a location very inexpedient, both to the colonists and themselves; however, by mistake, they were actually placed upon lands belonging to individuals.—By some neglect they have never been removed by my predecessor, and now it would be cruel and unjust to do so. They certainly are the most enterprising labourers in the Colony, and are making the most rapid advances of any. Last year they left their old town of thatch houses, and have laid out another near the river, containing many frame buildings; and not less than twenty such are now under way.

I could not reconcile it to my sense of duty, to leave them at the mercy of the colonists, on whose lands they had built, and some of whom were already boasting of their advantage; I have therefore determined to make exchanges, even at the expense of parting with town lots of considerable value. By this means, I hope to obtain lands there of sufficient extent to lay them out a town on the Stockton, that the experiment there may have a full trial. When informed of this plan, their joy seemed to know no bounds; and in their efforts to evidence it, by firing a great gun, three were very severely burned. The value of town lots and lands given in exchange for the farms, will be communicated at a future period.

The state of colonial surveys in general, and the disposition of lands, as in the preceding case, may evidence the great confusion that is likely to arise at a future period. At Millsburg, there is at present, no difficulty; and after visiting it, I have ordered deeds to be given to several individuals, whose improvements legally permitted it. At Edina, in Bassa, there is no difficulty as to the present surveys, except their paucity, compared with the number of farms wanted. But at Caldwell, and on the Cape, the confusion is complete. Neither the number nor location of a large part are known, even of town lots; and as to farms, the case is still worse. The confusion began in the loss of the copy and records (if any were ever made) of Mr. Ashmun's survey, and was continued by the death of Mr. Shepherd, and the consequent loss of his drafts; and since his time, by the

inattention or incompetence of his successors. I have ordered all who have claims for lots, to leave their names with the Register, and after proceeding to number anew the Caldwell lots and farms, shall assign every man his farm as soon as it can be surveyed. By this procedure, I hope that confusion may be avoided in future, and the excuse of having no farms, be heard no more from the careless and idle. A perfect remedy can be obtained only by employing and sending out a competent surveyor, to lay off the whole country. The plan of the United States' surveys in the western States would be of infinite service in this Colony, and save your Agent much trouble. I trust this subject will occupy a large share of the attention of the Board, and that, too, speedily.

Your Agent has left no means unemployed to excite, if possible, a spirit for agricultural improvement, and may hope not entirely without success. As an auxiliary to these efforts, and to ease the burthen of supporting many poor, whose labours, under proper directions, might support themselves, he has commenced a small farm near Caldwell; and nothing but the want of suitable implements, the poorest kind of which are with difficulty obtained, prevents rapid progress. To reap the full benefit of such a plan will require the erection of a *Poor House*. In it we could employ the numerous old women, widows, &c. who are now eating, from the Agency store, the bread of idleness. They might be employed in picking oakum, carding and spinning cotton, weaving and making up their own apparel. Thus the colonial largesses, instead of encouraging the idleness, would minister to the industry of the Colony. The importance of such a measure presses upon my mind with peculiar weight. The growth of the Colony will, yes, must be greatly retarded if it is neglected. Cotton might be abundantly raised on the farm, though perhaps two or three bales might be sent out profitably at first. Cards, I mean hand cards and wheels, must be supplied from America.

I do trust, that in this matter, the views of the Board may correspond with those just expressed, and that the succeeding Agent may be instructed and enabled to proceed to its accomplishment at once. This subject naturally introduces another, of which it is only a branch. I mean a general and complete code of laws. It is utterly impossible for one who has never had the experience, to imagine, much less realize the difficulties in our Courts.

The Colonial Laws do not touch on one point in a hundred which come before us, and the single direction to be guided by the common law of England and the United States, leads to endless difficulties. In relation to the estates of intestates, the rules of administrators, the courts of probate, the provision and government, &c. &c. of the poor, we are in utter confusion. So also in relation to the port regulations, the tariff for the supply of the treasury, and many other points of vital importance to the interests of the Colony. On some of these points, with the advice of the Council, I have attempted some amendment, until a regular system of laws can be framed and sent out by the Board. They are drawn out in document (B). Connected with the subject also, is the erection of a light, perhaps a light house. Its importance on the coast is very great both to strangers and colonists, and all no doubt would cheerfully submit to pay a "Light duty", to defray the expense. An ordinance has been passed, but its action is suspended for a time, till the light is or shall be erected. The old house for administering the laws, is now in a ruinous situation, and it is greatly to be hoped the people will unite their energies to build another and larger.

In order that no excuse may arise on the part of the colonists, by which to palliate neglect of duties clearly incumbent upon them, I have directed that all monies due the treasury be paid in *money*, and that no *Agency* or-

ders or acceptances be received there; and have even proceeded to draw out the money of that kind now in the treasury, by taking up old acceptances paid out by the Treasurer on treasury drafts, and giving orders, which will become drafts on the Board at a future period.

If you will bear with me, I would offer a few remarks upon the mode of support at present allowed to Officers in the Colony. It appears to me a radical defect to allow any thing in addition to a stated and specific salary. Though delicacy might seem to urge my desisting, conscience will not permit me to be silent. The allowance of a support over and above the salary, has been, I verily believe, the prolific source of abuses and difficulties heretofore, and must continue to be while the system lasts. The Agent may not have the inclination to check extravagance, either in himself or others; but if the will exists, he is powerless as to the latter. The least interference will be construed into an infringement of privileges, and therefore he may be compelled to witness the most wasteful expenditure of monies, which, when their source is regarded, may be considered holy, and the act appear a sacrilege. These sentiments are not entirely new to me, but my brief experience has indelibly impressed them on my mind. I have been led to dwell on them by having experienced some of the unpleasant effects of such interference. Economy in expenditure is never so thoroughly practised, as when joined with personal interest, and it is notoriously the case, that men, unless guided by an uncommon sense of future accountability, will be more prodigal of expenditure when the payments come from public bodies, than if their own pockets were to be made to bear them. The Board cannot expect all of their Agents to be immaculate, and therefore, in my opinion, the economy of conducting their affairs demands that every officer have his certain fixed salary, and provide for himself. But independent of this, the consideration of difficulties to which Agents will be liable on the present plan, is sufficient, and every member of the Board would be convinced of it by one month's experience.

When Dr. Hall and the Baltimore expedition were here, application was made for permission to obtain some of the acclimated citizens of Liberia to assist them. I replied, that the people might go or stay, as they were freemen. Mr. McGill, the Vice-Agent, accompanied the expedition, as did also Mr. Thompson, the Book-keeper; the latter, I believe, intends to remain. Besides these, about twenty of the poorer class from this place, and some from Bassa, left us. The Rev. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Wyncoope, whom I presume you will see shortly, as they have engaged a passage home in the Jupiter, proceeded with Dr. Hall as far as Cape Palmas, and returned here in the Elgar. They report quite favorably of the place, and that Dr. Hall was completely successful in making a large purchase. There is not, so far as my information extends, any considerable prepossession in this place towards the enterprise; most consider it too hazardous and uncertain to justify them in foregoing the certain advantages of their present situation. There is, however, to a considerable extent, a desire to settle both at Junk and Cape Mount. So importunate have been the solicitations in relation to the former place, and so favorable the disposition of the natives toward it, according to uniform report, that your Agent has felt it a duty to accede so far to the united desire, as to appoint Messrs. E. Johnson and H. Teage Commissioners to treat for the territory, and thus secure at this favorable moment, a right, which, if not immediately beneficial, must be of great service eventually in the future operations of your Society, while it will secure an indisputable right of jurisdiction to the Colony and fully open an inland communication with Grand Bassa. They proceeded to the Junk according to their instructions, and, after an absence of six days, returned, having met with complete success. A territory of nearly twenty miles

square was obtained for nine hundred bars; by far the cheapest purchase ever made by your Society. The Kings have not yet come for their pay, but the deed is secured (C). The price was only 150 bars more than Mr. McGill paid for the Devil's Bush at Edina, containing not over ten acres—though that was considered cheap.

If circumstances favor, a similar title may be secured to the intermediate territories; i. e. Little Bassa and the country commencing immediately south of Cape Montserado and the Junk river.

The title secured to six acres of land at Bendoo, back of Cape Mount, from King Gray and others, is becoming quite a subject of dispute. For the purpose of allaying difficulties, I visited Cape Mount soon after my arrival, but had poor success in the object of the mission: as I found the very Kings whose names are signed to the deed obtained by Dr. Mechlin, disposed to deny the transaction and charge us with fraud.

I have firmly asserted our right and the determination of the Colony to enforce it if necessary, and thus the matter rests for the present. A healthier or a more delightful country could not be desired. The combined grandeur and beauty of the scenery from Bendoo is thrilling, and the passing visiter feels strongly urged to take up his abode on the borders of the beautiful Pissou. Bendoo is a high bluff at the embouchure of Pissou river into the lake of the same name. It is the point of land between the river and lake, which was given to the Society. Before it, spreads out a lake of surpassing beauty, across which, to the side directly opposite, is a distance of 10 or 12 miles. Standing upon the bluff, the outline of the lake to its farthest extremity inland, and thence all around, can be more or less distinctly seen. Its interior, or south-eastern extremity, is an unbroken sheet of water, whose edges are covered with a rank luxuriant growth of vegetation, here and there interspersed with villages; this is on the left hand, as seen from Bendoo. On the right and in front, westward, a multitude of little islands stud its mouth, as if to relieve the sudden boldness of Cape Mount, which completes the back ground, with an elevation of eight hundred or one thousand feet. The scene is one which painters would love to view. On the high bluff, with a fine lake and river abounding in fish, and securing a free circulation of air at all times, I cannot believe an infant settlement would have to endure half the difficulties from climate, which have been elsewhere encountered; at least, it is worth the trial.

Thus far in relation to pecuniary and political concerns. As to the internal police of the Colony, and the state of public offices, there seems even greater need of energetic action. The number of commonwealth cases has been truly alarming, bringing the treasury not less than three or four hundred dollars annually. To remedy this, I have reproved the officers, especially Justices of the Peace, many of whom were placed in commission by my predecessor, utterly ignorant of law, while old and experienced Justices were left out. I have been compelled to put some of the latter in commission. The neglect of several Committees, which receive no pay for their services, was prominent and hurtful, especially the Committee of Agriculture. These have been directed to act efficiently, in seeing the roads cleared and various nuisances removed, but have hitherto done nothing. The report of this Committee I have called for, but have not yet obtained it.—Its contents I can readily anticipate: and with the exception of gardens for families, twelve acres of coffee trees planted by Rev. C. M. Waring, I might venture the assertion, that not fifty acres are cultivated in the Colony.

Inquiring for the causes of this destructive and humiliating neglect, several were strikingly prominent. First and foremost, stands the fascination of trade: the colonist who shall resist this temptation will be an object of admiration. However, I hope this evil is on the point of curing itself, and

though the process may be painful, cannot doubt but the result will be beneficial. The commission merchants, who, by their lavish credits, have been the panders to this depraved appetite for gain, are now reaping the bitter fruits. Their employers come for pay, and behold half of those to whom they trusted goods are bankrupt, and they are themselves unable in some instances to meet their engagements. The consequence is, that in a short time, Captains of vessels will entirely stop credits, and of course hundreds of strong men now in the country, must return to the long deserted farms. To assist this result, the council have lately laid many discouragements in the way of vessels trusting their goods on long credits.

But this has not been the principal cause of agricultural neglect. I am convinced the evil has its source farther back, and is deeper seated in the system. A colonist arrives in Monrovia at any time during the year. He is entitled to support six months. If anxious to do well, he looks forward to the day when this aid is to cease, and is prompted to make efforts to provide against it. If he gives way to these promptings, the result is generally severe illness and greater and longer continued weakness. If, as all experiences prove is most prudent, he sits down to await and escape the fever; the six months are soon gone, and he is cast upon his own resources. If in health, which is not often the case, he starts under the most favorable circumstances; but what are they? A penniless stranger, without house or food!! What is he to do under such circumstances? If his land is ready at the moment, he cannot wait to plant a crop and have it grow; his own wants and his family's, if he have any, demand immediate relief. Sawing timber has heretofore been the dernier resort. The new emigrant hires or borrows a saw, and with a companion proceeds to the woods to earn his bread. A tree is selected in the swamp, and having no oxen to draw it out, they are under the necessity of pitting it on the spot. Here, alternately standing in the water from knee to waist deep, and sawing four days, they are enabled, after carrying their wood to market, (which occupies the other two) to purchase enough to support themselves, and possibly he may be enabled to secure a lot in two years by building a plain frame house. In the mean time his system has become, in most cases, deeply injured or diseased, an aversion to farming contracted, and the man's usefulness to himself and the Colony almost ruined.

So far as my power extends, I have attempted a remedy by erecting a saw-mill, which will render lumber so cheap that any other labor will be more profitable than sawing. The mill is not finished, but under way, and with the Divine blessing, we may hope to complete it this dry season; this, however, can only partially remedy the evil. The true remedy, I think, will be found in allowing the emigrants one year's support, and if the Society thinks proper, to exact two days labor from them, per week, in return, according to the original plan of Mr. Ashmun. This is not too long in a vast majority of cases for the confirmation of their health: it will afford them time to select more eligible sites for their farms, and also enable them to have a crop planted and growing to their hands.

Connected with this, I would again call the attention of the Board to the importance of ever having on hand a supply of utensils of every kind, without which nothing can proceed with ease. Hoes, axes, shovels, spades, cutlasses, scythes, pickaxes, crow bars, &c. &c. should be kept ready for sale, and the public store never be without a supply.

In relation to the moral and religious state of the Colony, I cannot compare it with former years, not having had experience. There is, as in all other communities, so here, a larger portion of vice than the good would wish to see: yet I am persuaded that a large portion of the community is virtuous and inclined to favor a severe construction of the laws. There

have been no revivals of religion among us for a long time, and at present there are no very encouraging appearances. The Baptist church is not yet completed, but the materials are now ready, I believe, to proceed, and it is intended at once to have it in readiness for use. A Presbyterian church is under contract, and the walls are now rapidly rising. The prospect is that it will be dedicated before the commencement of the rains.

The Methodist society are also making preparation to erect a very large and beautiful building at Monrovia, their old place of worship being almost useless. They have already began building a place for worship at Edina, which is nearly completed.

In relation to the schools, I am not prepared to make any but the most general remarks. The teachers at present employed, seem very attentive, and, as a general thing, very successful. Mr. Eden's school at New Georgia, supported by the ladies in Philadelphia, is greatly cramped in its operations, for want of a suitable room; and all the schools are suffering more or less from scarcity of books, stationery, &c. &c. At present more than forty children at Edina are growing up to the privileges of freemen, without one school to teach the rudiments of learning.

I know not where in the Colony to find a suitable teacher for that place, and still less can I imagine a substitute for Mrs. Thompson, if she leaves the Colony. Her husband, Mr. T., has accompanied Dr. Hall; and from the reports that are flying, I presume will find inducements to remain. In expectation that this may prove to be the event, I have employed Mrs. Cyples, who comes well recommended from the Hon. Mr. Grimke of Charleston, to enter the school as an assistant and obtain a knowledge of the infant school system. At present the Colonization Society hires the house occupied by Mrs. T. and the school is supported by ladies in Philadelphia, while more than 40 children attend it daily from the wealthiest families.—The absurdity of such a state of things, is too glaring, and shows the necessity of heavier taxation. I have attempted to get a subscription to erect the house, and find the most difficulty where I least expected it. I have resolved that unless those who are able to pay for the house, will either pay the rent or build a house, to bring the school back to its original intention, and confine it to the education of orphans and poor. I remarked before, that all the schools needed books and stationery. This want is pressing. Do call upon the Christian community in America, to turn a portion of their charities into this channel. Let them know, that to extend knowledge and promote sound piety, a quire of paper is, at the present moment, of more worth than a Bible. Bibles and Tracts have been sent here, and either used as waste paper, or made food for worms. Why? Not because the people despise either, but because we have not a reading population. Until this is secured, their Bibles would be of more value in China.

Let them raise societies for supporting schools, such as those formed by the ladies of Philadelphia and Richmond—and not only to support schools but to supply teachers. Let the pious spend some of their alms in supplying us with paper and books fit for primary schools; and then we shall be able beneficially to receive their donations of devotional works. When, I ask, will the High School be established in the Colony? I ask again, when? Surely the benevolent would not be tardy in giving support, nor young men of talents and learning so dilatory in offering themselves, if they could see one-half the necessity which exists for it. If one had been begun with the Colony, ere this, its affairs would have been conducted in a better manner, and at half the expense they now are. So long as this is neglected, let no one complain that we do not prosper.

Since Mr. Thompson's departure, I have appointed L. R. Johnson to fulfil his duties, in addition to those which he formerly performed, and allow

him a salary of \$400 per annum, being \$200 less than was paid the two previously. Mr. Prout, I have allowed to retain his office, being in daily expectation of hearing from the Board; but in the mean time, have reduced his salary to \$400, with a saving of all perquisites to the Society. If he is continued in office, or another appointed, I think, under existing circumstances, \$300 with perquisites, would amply repay the duties required or rendered. As is natural, he is restive under it, and complains bitterly of partiality; alleging as evidence, that I have not proceeded in the same way with all. Without pretending to reply to such an objection, I would add my views on the subject. I do not believe the interests of the Colony or Society demand the present number of officers.

Mr. Williams still claims his appointment, and alleges the request of yourself, while on his visit, as the reason; and also claims to be allowed the expenses of his voyage to Africa, after his late visit to the United States. The latter I have refused, and referred it to the Board to decide upon. As to the office, he is allowed to retain it, and I endeavor to keep him busy—but with a full conviction, that the duties of store-keeper might and ought to be connected with his, and the office, thus loaded with the duties now performed both by Mr. Williams and Mr. Johnson, given to a single individual, at the salary which either one now receives; thus saving \$500 or \$600 annually to the Society. On the same principle, I would suggest that the duties of Secretary and Register be united for the present until the Colony becomes larger, with the salary at present annexed to the Secretary's office.

I have thus touched upon many things which seemed important, and have doubtless omitted others of equal or greater importance.

You will excuse the length of the letter from a conviction of its good intention. Hoping this may be the case, with sincerest friendship, I remain

Your most obedient and humble servant.

J. B. PINNEY.

P. S. In the confusion of mind incident to one called off fifty times while writing, I have omitted to touch upon two important subjects. The want of a public store. At present the buildings occupied are not adequate either, in extent or convenience, for the transaction of business. Moreover, the one of greatest extent, erected by Dr. Mechlin between the agency house and the fort, is ready to fall down by its own weight, from age. The building rented from Mr. Williams at \$60 per annum, is very unsafe. Again, the cost of transporting the goods from the water side up the hill, and then down again to load the schooner, is annually, I presume, not less than \$300.

By an exact estimate, I find that a building, 50 by 60 feet, can be erected at an expense of \$2500, at the prices charged here, and this paid in merchandise, sent out by your Society from America, would not cost over \$1200 or \$1400. The building could be placed upon a lot near the public wharf, and thus save the expense and labor of conveyance up and down this steep hill. It would last an indefinite period uninjured by the weather, being built of stone, and would save an annual rent for storage, which hitherto has amounted to nearly \$150 per annum. It is so clearly the interest of the Society to have such a building erected, that I am almost ready to commence immediately, but wait for intelligence by the next vessel.

The other point of peculiar interest, is the importance of encouraging the cultivation of coffee. I think this would be promoted in two ways. First, by instructing the Agent to purchase from every one raising one hundred pounds, all that they can raise for a specified number of years, and at a specified price, say 12 cents. 2d. By having a sample farm, wherein to make experiments as to the best mode, and best kinds to be cultivated. This farm might be connected with the poor establishment, and would doubtless soon become a source of income to the Society.

## FURTHER NEWS FROM AFRICA.

*Extracts from a letter addressed by the Rev. JOHN HERSEY, of Baltimore, to the Editors of the Christian Advocate, of New York.*

After a tedious passage of sixty-one days from Baltimore, we arrived at Monrovia in Liberia. Most of our company suffered much from sea-sickness, otherwise we have been mercifully favoured with excellent health.

After remaining a few days at Monrovia and Grand Bassa, we proceeded on our voyage, and reached this place (Cape Palmas) on the 11th of February. We found the natives of the country anxious to receive and comfort their brethren from America. Our intention and object in visiting this country, was immediately communicated to the king of Cape Town.—He expressed promptly his approbation of our views, and his entire willingness to receive and accommodate us in his country. The day following, two other Kings having received the information of our arrival, came together, and after Dr. Hall, the Agent for the Maryland Colonization Society, explained the views and wishes of our Society, they all received the proposition with joy; and after the necessary negotiations, which did not continue more than one hour, the Kings promptly agreed to dispose of the entire country (consisting of about four hundred square miles) for a moderate compensation, reserving to themselves only the peaceable possession of their own towns and farms.

One circumstance connected with this prompt and mutually agreeable negotiation, is worthy of particular notice. It was the unwavering opinion of those best acquainted with the native character, that no negotiation could possibly be effected with them, without a supply of rum, to be used on the occasion, and also to form part of the price of their land. When Dr. Hall informed them that we did not use it ourselves, and could not think of furnishing them with an article calculated to injure them, they immediately consented to dispense with it, on condition that they should receive fifty dollars in specie, to supply the deficiency. This was much less than could have been expected; consequently their offer was promptly and joyfully met by the Agent.

Other Kings have manifested not only a willingness, but an anxiety to receive Americans to settle among them. There also exists among many of the tribes, an anxiety to have their children educated. In a word, there is a great and effectual door opening in this interesting and extensive country, to preach the everlasting gospel.

When we first landed, the great and the small pressed around us, to welcome us, who were really strangers, as friends to their shores and their humble residence. I was particularly interested and pleased to see two or three hundred children, from four to sixteen years old, crowding around, and eagerly reaching their little hands to press mine, in token of their friendship and joy. Although they were naked, *body and soul*, yet their appearance was not offensive, but deeply and solemnly interesting. Their countenances were sprightly and expressive, though deeply shrouded in ignorance. Could this scene have been presented before the public, in our land of Religion and Liberty, it would have produced an overwhelming stream of mercy, composed of men and money, sufficient to fertilize the whole of this dreary region.

An unlimited field is fast opening in this immense continent, where the servants of the Lord may enter in and labor, where they may literally preach the *gospel to the poor*.

It is my fixed determination to spend my days in Africa, unless I can serve this important cause more effectually by a visit to the United States.

The African climate is much more agreeable than I had anticipated, The

heat is at all times oppressive in the middle of the day, but the mornings and evenings and nights are generally very pleasant. The thermometer varies but a few degrees at any season of the year. It is very true that all foreigners, whether white or colored, must expect to be attacked by a fever peculiar to this climate soon after their arrival in this Country; but with care and medical assistance, those of sound constitutions will generally pass safely through this ordeal; and after they have become acclimated, they will, no doubt, enjoy as good or better health here than in any of our Southern States.

I have seen sugar cane of very respectable size cultivated by the natives. Corn, cotton, coffee, and rice may be reared in great abundance, and all the fruits of tropical climates. There is nothing wanting to make this Country a comfortable home for our colored population, but money, and a well regulated system of economy adhered to by the Society and her Agents in America and in Africa, and *industry* and *virtue* on the part of the Colonists.—Nothing, we know, however, can be effected in any place or at any time, of a valuable and permanent character, without the aid and merciful approbation of Almighty God—that his smiles will attend every honest effort to civilize and christianize Africa, and to exalt the character and condition of our colored population, we cannot, for one moment, doubt.

### ADDRESS OF THE REV. R. R. GURLEY,

*Who is, at present, on a visit to New York.*

*To the Editors of the New York Commercial Advertiser.*

GENTLEMEN:—By very ample despatches just received from Liberia, it appears that the emigrants by the Jupiter are comfortably established: an aged female and two infants only have died. Many improvements have been made by the acting Colonial Agent, the Rev. Mr. Pinney, and the Colony is rising from its temporary depression. The general health in the Colony is very good, the deaths very few.

A valuable tract of country has been obtained at Junk River, and some of the colonists are disposed to establish a settlement thereon. This territory is twenty miles square, and one of the most eligible situations on the coast. There is every prospect of obtaining the intermediate territory to Little Bassa, as also that between the Mesurado and Junk river.

The Agent is erecting a saw-mill, which is expected to be completed this spring.

In relation to the moral and religious state of the Colony, "I cannot," says the Agent, "compare it with former years, not having had experience. There is, as in all other communities, so here, a larger portion of vice than the good would wish to see: yet I am persuaded that a large portion of the community is virtuous, and inclined to favour a severe construction of the laws. The Baptist Church is not yet completed, but the materials are now ready, I believe, to proceed, and it is intended at once to have it in readiness for use. A Presbyterian church is under contract, and the walls are now rapidly rising. The prospect is, that it will be dedicated before the commencement of the rains. The Methodist Society are also making preparations to erect a very large and beautiful building at Monrovia, their old place of worship being almost useless. They have already begun building a place of worship at Edina—now nearly completed.

"The Teachers at present employed in our schools seem very attentive; and, as a general thing, very successful. Mr. Eden's school at New Georgia, supported by the Ladies in Philadelphia, is greatly cramped in its operations for want of a suitable room; and all the schools are suffering more or less from scarcity of books, stationery, &c. &c. At present, more than forty children at Edina are growing up to the privileges of freemen, without one school in which they may be taught the rudiments of learning.

"Do call upon the Christian community in America to turn a portion of their charities into this channel. Let them know that to extend knowledge and promote sound piety, a quire of paper is, at the present moment, of more value than a Bible.

"Let them raise Societies for supporting Schools, such as those formed by the Ladies of Philadelphia and Richmond; and not only to support schools, but to supply teachers.—Let the pious spend some of their alms in supplying us with paper and books fit for primary schools, and then we shall be able beneficially to receive their donations of devotional works. When, I ask, will the High School be established in the Colony? Surely

the benevolent would not be tardy in giving support, nor young men of talents and learning so dilatory in offering themselves, if they could see one-half the necessity which exists for it. If one had been begun in the Colony, ere this, its affairs would have been conducted in a better manner than they now are, and at half the expense. So long as this is neglected, let no one complain that we do not prosper."

Those who have perused the exposition recently published by the Managers of the Colonization Society at Washington, are aware that measures have been adopted for establishing a High School in Liberia. The Massachusetts Colonization Society have also resolved to endow a Free School in the Colony; and the benevolent Ladies of this and other cities, are now actively engaged in efforts to introduce and sustain, throughout Liberia, and the neighbouring tribes, a system of education. The object is one of deep interest—of vast importance.

From the statement of the Colonial Agent, the Colonial Store needs to be replenished; and donations of provisions, cotton goods, clothing, books, (particularly school-books, stationery, cards for infant schools,) agricultural tools, and household utensils, will be thankfully received for the Colony. Such articles may be sent to Anson G. Phelps, Pearl Street; H. V. Garretson, Broad Street; Thomas Bell, 221 Front Street; or to the office of the New York Society, in the Session Building of Dr. Spring's Church.

R. R. GURLEY, Sec. A. C. S.

April 18.

## AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

We have lately read a most excellent Discourse, delivered in October last before the Vermont Colonization Society; from which we extract two or three of the concluding paragraphs.\*

"Men are beginning to feel extensively, that the doctrine of our text is true; viz: that God *'hath made of one blood all nations of men—that they should seek the Lord,'* that he has given them one common nature, and one common gospel, to which all ought to have access. They are beginning, more and more, to act on this principle; and it will have the same effect which it had when Paul preached it and men embraced it at Athens and at Rome;—it will abolish slavery. If slave laws remain as they are, it will render them inoperative, for it will remove all occasion for the use of them. If laws need to be altered, it will alter them. It will prove the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation, not only to the individuals who receive it, but to the community which it pervades.

"Some may object, that the removal of slavery by colonization, though certain in the end, is too distant to content us; that these operations reach but a small part of our slave-holding territory; that we need something which shall appeal to every citizen, and especially to every slaveholder, in the United States; something which shall present the negro race before us, not only as moral agents, capable of salvation, but as capable of being fitted for citizenship; as having a claim upon us to fit them for it and bestow it upon them; something too, the execution of which does not wholly depend on the slaveholders themselves; something in which all the citizens of the Union can engage, and thus bear their testimony to the truth which makes men free.

"There is some force in these objections. They show the need of just such an enterprise as we are now assembled to promote. What is the American Colonization Society doing? It is labouring to build up a civilized, well governed nation of free colored people. The very endeavor is proof, that we consider the existence of such a nation possible; that we regard negroes as beings out of whom such a nation can be built. Every step taken in this enterprise proceeds on the ground that negroes can be made, and ought to be made, and we desire to make them, free citizens of a free country. On this ground I rest the defence of the Society, and its claims to your support. I omit numerous topics of argument which might be used, and with which you are already familiar. I stay not to dally with objections which do not touch this point. I ask not whether, in forming and executing its plans, the men, mere men, who compose it, have shown wisdom absolutely infinite, and infinite watchfulness against mistakes. I shall not try to do the work of the day of judgment beforehand, by inquiring whether some of its members entertain, at the same time, the two opposite designs of removing all the slaves from the country, and of making their slavery perpetual in it. I shall not argue the question whether all vice, or any vice, is more thoroughly excluded from Monrovia, than from any village in the United States; or whether the administration of government in that colony is more perfect than it ever has been, or, till the millennium at least, ever will be, in any other community on earth. If any maintain that both the Managers of the Society and the Colonists are, after all, mere men,

\* Any one desirous of reading the whole Discourse, may obtain a copy by calling at, or writing (post paid) to the Colonization Office, at the corner of Ninth and E Streets, Washington.

and that by diligent search such errors as men are liable to may be found among them, I shall not dispute it; and if any one shall say that some of its enemies are capable of exaggeration, and others of falsehood, I shall not dispute that. I leave all such questions to those who have leisure for them. I point you to Liberia. There it stands, upon the coast of Africa, a monument of the truth that negroes, and even negro slaves, can be made, and ought to be made, and we desire to make them, free citizens of a free community. By its very existence, it testifies this truth to all that pass by in ships, to all who consider where ships shall be sent; to all who consider, in what seas ships must be defended. It stands, or soon will stand, an intelligible monument of this truth, on the map of Africa, in the hands of every child who studies geography in any school on earth. Can this universal testimony, thus forced perpetually upon the notice of all men, fail to produce an effect?

"The Society appeals directly and personally to every citizen of the United States, and of course to every slaveholder in the United States. It asks him to bestow his aid, and by bestowing his aid in removing slaves who are manumitted for this purpose, to bear his testimony to the truth, that negroes, negro slaves even, can be made, and ought to be made, and he desires to make them, free citizens of a free community. It asks him to bear this testimony by acting on this principle;—by doing what would be the veriest and most manifest folly imaginable, on any other principle. Can this appeal be thus universally and perpetually made, and especially, can slaveholders generally comply with it, without strengthening the principles by which slavery will be removed?

"The Society appeals to you this night. As you have been officially informed, hundreds of slaves are waiting for freedom, only till the Society shall be enabled to colonize them. Only furnish the means, and they will be made free citizens of a free community. Show, then, by your deeds, how much confidence you have in the capacity of slaves to receive and enjoy the blessings of freedom, and how ardently you desire that it may be conferred upon them. The influence of what you shall do will not expire with the doing of the deed, or be limited to the direct recipients of your bounty. What you do will be matter of record: it will go abroad. It will be published to the ends of the land and of the earth. It will tell on public sentiment. In proportion as it shall show that you are in earnest, it will swell and strengthen the tide of right feeling which is to sweep slavery from our land and from the world."

#### MANUMISSIONS.

REV. AND DEAR SIR—Highly approving of the humane and benevolent object which the American Colonization Society has in view, rejoicing also in the wonderful success which has already attended its operations; I see, or think I see, a way opening up, for the liberation of that part of our population which has long been held in bondage; a way, in which their condition may be made much better. Permit me, Sir, through you, as the Secretary of this Society, to offer to it, for colonization, the servants under my care, whom I wish to liberate; they are four in number, and have all expressed a willingness to go and take up their abode in Liberia. The oldest is a female about twenty-one or two years of age, with a child two years old; the other two are her brother and sister—the brother about twelve and the sister about eight years of age. These are all that I own. My wish is to let them go this fall or winter, if the Society can take them. I wish to know of you, Sir, as soon as possible, whether the Society will accept of them; and if so, when it would be convenient for them to get a passage to the Colony, and where they would have to be sent, to be taken under the care of the Society. They are all young, and their habits of life not yet confirmed. As far as I can judge, they show a disposition of honesty, and are tolerably industrious. The grown girl can read, but not well, the others cannot. I promise to send them, free of expense to the Society, to any town or port within two or three hundred miles of this place, to which the Society shall direct them to be sent; and also to furnish them, or the Society for them, with as much money as will bear their expenses the first year, provided it does not exceed 15 or \$20 a piece. I cannot bear the expense of their voyage. Please to answer my letter as soon as practicable; and let me know whether they will be received on these terms. May the Lord prosper your efforts in this great and glorious work.

*North Carolina, March 17, 1834.*

## CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society, during the month of March, 1834.

*Gerrit Smith's First plan of Subscription.*

Solomon Allen, Philadelphia,	\$100
Theodore Frelinghuysen, New Jersey,	100
R. Gilmor, Baltimore, two payments,	200

*Gerrit Smith's Second Plan of Subscription.*

Gerrit Smith, his first payment,	1000
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*Collections from Churches.*

Chillicothe, by Col. J. L. Taylor, Senior,	9 50
Methodist Episcopal Church, Rev. J. M. Matthews,	14 38
Associated Reformed Church, Rev. Jos. Claybaugh,	8 81
Clarkson Presbyterian church, Rev. Mr. Furman,	5
Hamilton, Ohio, Associated Reformed congregation, Rev. David Macdill,	12 12
Jonesboro', Ten. Methodist Camp-Meeting,	6 45
Lebanon, Maine, by Rev. James Weston,	2
Leesburg, Ten. Presbyterian meeting,	5
Ogden, N. Y. by Z. Case,	3 06
Parma, N. Y. Temperance Society, by Elder Gould,	10
Price Creek and Lycoming congregations, by Rev. J. H. Grier,	11 25
Seven Mile, Butler co. Ohio, by Rev. David Macdill,	6
West Alexander, Pa. by Rev. J. M. Clusky,	25 73

*Auxiliary Societies.*

Chillicothe Auxiliary, by J. Woodbridge, Treasurer,	12 48
Ross co. Ohio, Female Auxiliary,	9 50

*Donations.*

A few Gentlemen near Oak Hill, Fauquier co. Virginia,	29
Granville, Ohio, Sereno Wright,	10
Northumberland, Pa. Josiah Forrest,	5
Troy, N. Y. at a meeting attended by Rev. Rev. R. R. Gurley, forwarded by Judge Buel, viz.—Jacob Merrit,	\$35
Joseph Russell, Jedediah Tracy, Robert D. Silliman, John T. McCoun, Stephen Warren, Thaddeus B. Bigelow, Isaac McConiho, \$30 each,	210
George Vail, David Buel, Senior, John D. Willand, Daniel Sackett, David Buel, Jr. \$10 each,	50
G. Corning, D. O. Kellog, James Langworthy, Rev. Mark Tucker, Zephaniah Clarke, Hiram P. Hunt, Thomas W. Blatchford, J. J. Merritt, Rev. Fayette Shipherd, J. W. Bulkley, Jos. Brockway, \$5 each; Mrs. John A. Hall, \$3;	58
Eben'r. Platt, Henry F. Bayeux, \$2 each; Henry Landon, \$1;	5 — 358

*Contributions received by the Rev. J. N. Danforth, heretofore omitted.*

Boston, Collection at St. Paul's church, by Rev. Mr. Stow,	77
three Gentlemen,	65
Dr. Lowell's congregation,	428
Rev. Paul Dean's,	20
Charles Stoddard, a life member,	30
John C. Proctor, Do.	30
Rev. Francis Parkman, Do.	30
Robert G. Shaw, Do.	30
Edmund Monroe, to send out a manumitted slave,	30
Henry Lienow, do do do do	30
Brighton, Rev. Mr. Adams' congregation, to make him a life member,	30
Cambridgeport, collection in Rev. Mr. Stearn's church,	12 59
Dalton, Mass. collection,	12 63
Great Barrington, Mass. collection,	3 63
Hatfield, collection by Rev. L. Pratt,	24
Hinsdale, Rev. Mr. Hawley's church,	15
Lee, Mass. a collection,	14 63
Lenox, a pair of gold ear-rings, by a lady,	4 50
Lowell, a donation,	1 50
Marblehead, collection at Rev. Mr. Dana's church,	20
collection at Rev. Mr. Briggs' church,	5
New Lebanon, New York, collection at Rev. Mr. Churchill's church,	18
Baptist church,	11 75
Newburyport, Mass. collection in Federal Street church,	59 96
Newton, Rev. H. J. Ripley, donation,	15
Peru, Rev. Mr. Brewster, donation,	8

Pittsfield, Rev. Mr. Nichols, Methodist church,	9
Plymouth, Congregational church,	22
Portland, Rev. Dr. Nichols' Society,	13 50
Portsmouth, N. H. Rev. Mr. Towne's Society,	15 18
Rev. Dr. Parker's Society,	34
Rev. Mr. Putnam's Society,	21 11
a gentleman's donation,	1
Roxbury, Rev. Dr. Parker's congregation,	80
John Heath,	10
Salem, Rev. Mr. Emerson's church,	23 03
Rev. Dr. Flint's church,	14 37
Rev. Mr. Upham's church,	37
Rev. Mr. Babcock's congregation, to make him a life member,	30
Mrs. Tucker,	2
Public Debate at the Lyceum, half the proceeds,	20
Stockbridge, collection,	13 43
Troy, N. Y. collection at Rev. Dr. Beman's church,	61 30
Wellfleet, Mass. Sunday scholars, by E. Freeman,	8
Winchendon, Rev. Mr. Clarke's Society,	8 40
Windsor, Vermont, Rev. S. P. Arm's congregation,	10 32
Worcester, Juvenile Sewing Society in Rev. Mr. Abbot's church,	14
Donation to constitute Rev. J. N. Danforth a life member,	32
Received from Pierce and Parker, for collections,	121 44
Rev. C. P. Russell, Agent for New Hampshire,	94 71
<i>Recent Contributions received by Mr. Danforth.</i>	
Auburn, N. Y. collection in Rev. Mr. Hopkins' church,	20 27
Rev. Dr. Richard's church,	5
Brockport, collection,	15 60
Berks Colonization Society, C. Dillingham, Treasurer,	15
Canandaigua, Rev. A. D. Eddy's congregation,	150
Geneva, Donations from Tioga county, by Mr. Butler,	8
S. M. Hopkins, Esq. \$30; other gentlemen, \$27 50,	57 50
Hinsdale, Congregational church,	15
Ithaca, First Presbyterian church, after address,	67 72
Lansingburg, Rev. Mr. McCulloch's congregation,	77 52
Le Roy, St. Mark's, \$13 82; Presbyterian church, \$13 63,	27 45
Niskayuna and Amity Reformed Dutch church, by Rev. Mr. Yale,	8 25
North Carolina, J. Janvier,	2 50
Pittsfield, Mass. First Congregational church,	50 06
Portsmouth, N. H. life subscription, (\$15 being before paid,)	15
Philadelphia, thirteen gentlemen in Mr. Furness' congregation,	55
Miss Butler, a donation,	50
Stratford, John Young, donation,	6 66
Tyringham, collection,	4 94
Troy, a friend, \$2; Dr. Beman's congregation, \$17 27; Mrs. Burchard, \$2,	21 27
Washington, collection,	2
Waterford, a friend,	5
Whitesborough, Mr. Dexter,	10
Mr. Gillet's and Methodist churches,	47 29
<i>Collections made by J. G. Birney, Agent for the south-western District.</i>	
This amount received at Rev. Mr. Clapp's church, a collection,	20 62
Mississippi Colonization Society,	2,800 00
Donation "by two ladies," formerly residing in Miss., now in Philadelphia,	200 00
Hon. Edward McGeehee, his 5th annl. sub. on plan of Gerrit Smith,	100 00
Wilkinson County Colonization Society, Mississippi,	60 00
Tennessee Colonization Society,	350 00
Kentucky Col. Soc. through T. A. Mills, their Agent, in cash,	\$1014
Sundry bills, disbursements,	894 56 — 1,908 56
Mr. Bascom, through Mr. Mills,	50 00
Danville Col. Soc. thro' Mr. Mills, the Rev. Mr. Patton a life member,	30 00
Florence (Alabama) Aux. Society,	45 00
Collection taken at Hazlegreen, Madison co. Tenn. Fourth of July,	1 50
Donation by the African Benevolent Society in Wills Valley, Cherokee Nation, by the Rev. Mr. Chamberlain (this Society is composed of negroes, slaves of the Indians),	5 00
Donation of Colonization Society of negroes, slaves of the Indians, near "Head of Coosa," Cherokee Nation, by the Rev. Mr. Chamberlain,	2 50
For African Repository "from Frank" a slave of an Indian master,	2 00
Cash paid by the Aux. Soc. of Morgan co. Alabama, (Nov. 1st, 1833),	20 00
Do. from Madison county Aux. Society, (Nov. 4th, 1833),	54 00

THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. X.]

MAY, 1834.

[No. 2.

REMARKS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

*By the REV. R. R. GURLEY, Secretary of the Society; most of which were delivered in the Middle Dutch Church, in the City of New York, on the evening of April 23, 1834.*

THE question which I propose to discuss, is one of the greatest which ever has been, or can be, submitted to the consideration of the American People.

Ever since the deluge, Slavery has existed in large portions of the world; and for more than three centuries, been encouraged in Africa by the slave trade, prosecuted until recently, with all circumstances of crime and cruelty, by nearly, if not all, the civilized powers of the world.

Of those who have been consigned by this traffic to inexorable bondage, (ten or twelve millions at least,) nearly one-half, have been doomed to their miseries for no alleged crime, and by no law or tribunal of their own country.

Long before the Revolution, slaves were introduced into this country by the commerce of England, and subsequently their numbers greatly increased by the inhuman enterprise of the American Colonies. But up to the time when slavery was forced extensively upon our shores, by the Mother Country, the people of America, foreseeing the sad consequences to posterity, sought protection therefrom, by petitions and appeals, both to the Parliament and the Throne.

But the evil came extensively upon us; it grew with our growth, and strengthened with our strength, and became inwrought in the interests, habits and frame of society. It pervaded the whole social and political organization and constitution in many of the Colonies, and affected all the relations and operations of men.

The Constitution of the United States, adopted as the common bond of a National Government, formed by the people of the several States, States independent to the moment of its adoption, leaves slavery where it found it, except that by the *Union* it creates, peculiar facilities are afforded for the diffusion of correct sentiments on the subject, and in the government established, powers vested, adequate (and at the request of those most interested, capable of being applied,) to remedy the evil.

Of the two millions of colored persons in the United States, the great

body are in slavery in the Southern and Southwestern States; the free people of colour amounting in all, to less than three hundred thousand.

The unfortunate condition of both classes, has long excited the benevolence of many minds, and what measures should be adopted to relieve their miseries and elevate their character, been a subject of deep reflection.—That they have been too generally and criminally neglected, is unquestionable. That the free enjoy few of the benefits of freedom,—that the slaves are uneducated, degraded, and suffer from laws rigorous and oppressive, is clear.

But Africa, with her uncounted, countless (I had almost said,) population, ignorant, debased, enslaved, opens before us her vast domain, where cunning has imposed on credulity, and flattery betrayed the innocent, avarice fettered the brave, and power crushed the weak; where all faith has been violated, all mercy forgotten; where Ruin walks abroad, amid the bounties of nature, and Despair hides in dim eclipse her glories. Africa then claims redress for her wrongs, and the sighs of her afflicted children come to us on every breeze. *The whole African race*, then, should be included within the circuit of our sympathies and charities.

The American Colonization Society had its origin in humane and benevolent sentiments towards the colored race. The characters of its founders, place their motives beyond suspicion, in the judgment of candid and liberal minds. Many of them, removed by death, have left enduring memorials of their love to God and man. I hope to show that their principles were as pure as their intentions.

The object of the Society is, to colonize, with their own consent, in Africa, or elsewhere, the free people of colour of the United States, and to act for this object in co-operation with the General Government, or such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject. Will any one say, that because the Society will co-operate with the National Government, or the States, to effect its exclusive object, colonizing the free people of colour *with their consent*, it may co-operate for an object directly the reverse, colonizing them *without their consent*? Yet those who make it their chief concern to destroy the reputation of the Society, represent its scheme as one for coercing away,—for expatriating our whole colored population. This is as reasonable, as true, (and no more so,) as to represent that those who judge it best for the people of colour to remain here, deny them the liberty of removal. If the maintenance of the opinion, that the voluntary separation of the colored and white races be desirable, is to *force* the colored race *away*, the maintenance of the opinion, that their continuance with us is desirable, is to *force* them to *remain*. If the Colonization Society believes such separation will promote the interests of all parties concerned, the cause of human improvement and freedom and happiness, it may as rightfully exert a moral influence to effect this object, as those who think their continued residence with us is desirable, may exert such influence to effect their object. As to physical and legislative powers, they belong to no association of individuals disconnected from Government, and no such association can be held morally responsible for the opinions or acts of Government, any further than such opinions or acts can be shown to be the fruits of its moral influence. How can a Society, bound by its first principles to colonize persons *only* with their own consent, tend to expel them against their will from the country.

But it is asked, did not the Colonization Society, after the insurrection in Southampton, Va., receive and transport to Liberia at their own request, free persons of colour, compelled to seek some refuge from the indignation kindled by the outrages there perpetrated, of horror and blood? Certainly. But did the Society arouse the vindictive passions, urge on the perse-

cutions, excite the spirit of wrath and violence, before which these unfortunate men fled in dismay? The relentless foes of the Institution have not dared to allege or insinuate such a charge against it.

Suppose these unhappy men had fled to this city, and requested their Anti-Slavery friends to afford them an asylum, and the means of subsistence, and they had replied, we cannot receive you—the people of Virginia had no right to force you away; we will not in any way countenance their measures against you. Return and stand upon your natural and inalienable rights. Would not every unperturbed mind have felt the inhumanity of such conduct? Yet the Colonization Society is guilty only of showing kindness to these people, at a time when they looked elsewhere for relief in vain.

My respected friend, Dr. Cox, (whose originality of genius, and nobleness of heart, no one more highly appreciates than myself,) has taken his position against the Society, in consequence of evidence first exhibited to him in England, which he has found ample reason since, to believe correct, "that the colored people of this country as a whole, and almost to a man, are utterly opposed to its system." This objection alone he regards as conclusive and invincible. Were the fact assumed, admitted, which it is not, the argument would be this only; a majority of the people of colour are opposed to colonization: therefore, such as approve it, should not be assisted to emigrate. I see not the force of the argument. Why should the liberty of the free colored man who chooses to settle in Africa, or my liberty to assist him, be abridged by the opinion of a majority, or of all his brethren? If the fact that some men of colour wish to remain in this country, be a *reason* why all should *remain*, is not the fact that some wish to emigrate a *reason* why all should *emigrate*? But I deny the fact assumed. More than three thousand colored persons have voluntarily emigrated to Liberia, and at nearly every period since the existence of the Society, have applicants for a passage been more than it has had funds to aid.—I know that in this city and the Northern States, the people of colour, generally, are hostile to the scheme. But the opinions of these, opinions mostly and mainly formed under the influence of those, who, to speak with the utmost charity, have mistakenly represented the Society as unfriendly to the best interests of their race, as the ally and defender of slavery, cannot be regarded as the unbiassed judgment of our colored population, and if they were, those who think such judgment erroneous, have the same right with those who think otherwise, to express their views and exert their influence in the case.

But the opposition to the Society arises less from what it does, than from that which it *does not*. The establishment of Christian colonies of free colored men, disposed to emigrate, in Africa, might be forgiven, did the Society exert that influence, or rather did it not stand in the way of that influence which is deemed the appropriate and only remedy for slavery. It is said that the Society obstructs emancipation. A pamphlet has been published in England, entitled "The Extinction of the American Colonization Society, the first step towards the abolition of slavery." The question, then, of the moral influence of the Society on slavery is one most important, the discussion of which cannot, should not be avoided. True, the establishment of Christian States in Africa is an object of magnitude, and motive enough to animate all Christian hearts, yet if to effect it, be to prevent, or even greatly retard the voluntary and peaceful abolition of slavery, it may be secured at too great a price.

The Colonization Society exerts a powerful moral influence, favorable to the abolition of slavery, because it attempts to exert no other influence.—The people of the South recognize no right political or moral, in others

than themselves, to regulate, modify, or abolish slavery, and they justly deem any efforts to coerce them to abolish it, as a violation both of the spirit and letter of the Constitution. The Colonization Society by abstaining from all measures, which, in the judgment of the South, endanger the public safety, gains the confidence of the people, and secures from them a candid consideration of the *truth*, in regard to the interests and claims of our colored population.

We must respect the rights and judgment, even if erroneous, of those in power, would we plead successfully for those who suffer from it. "We must plead *for* the oppressed, not *to* them."

By uniting on a common ground, and for a common object of humanity to the people of colour, the wise and good of every State of the Union, the Society is producing *that state of public sentiment*, from which alone can result the peaceful abolition of slavery. It is by bringing the benevolent of the land to meet on some common principle, and for an unexceptionable purpose, relating to the people of colour, that a friendly interchange of thoughts and opinions is secured, that discussion, calm and dispassionate in regard to their interests and prospects is produced, and thus all elements set in motion for the formation of sober and correct opinions. To prevent men from forming *wrong* opinions is often important towards leading them to adopt *right* ones. Having taken sides on any question, they are seldom converted by controversy. We grant to our own reason what we will not yield to the dogmas of another. In the liberty of our will, only, do we obey the truth. Truth is best heard in the silence of the passions.

The operations of the Society are awakening in the Southern mind sympathies, associations, trains of thought, which are the germs of great and noble actions. They appeal eloquently to all the generosity, to all the justice of our nature. Every notice of Liberia, every ship that sails thither, every slave manumitted to go there, pleads the cause of human freedom. Examples of emancipation, have an effect more powerful, than all the fulminating denunciations of the wrathful; and like example, the influence of the Society takes effect, because it leaves no apology for resistance in the conscience or judgment of its enemies. In warring with it, they must war against themselves.

The measures of the Society tend to elevate most surely and rapidly a community of men of colour, who may exhibit to the whole world the capabilities of the colored race for high moral and social improvement, and for self-government.

No reflecting man, I think, can believe, that in these respects, as a community, they will surely and *rapidly* rise here. I say nothing of the causes which prevent it. In every way would I gladly aid their improvement. But I must give up my reason, to expect, that to any considerable extent, they will be rapidly improved. Almost every thing is against them. But in Liberia, every thing is adapted to unfetter their minds, to awaken their enterprise, kindle their hopes, stimulate industry, rouse them to action.—As a people they need to be thrown, chiefly, upon their own resources; they want motives for intellectual energy, and noble conduct. What circumstances can do for human character, we read in the history of our country. What they had done, Mr. Burke saw and admired before our Revolution, when in allusion to the commercial enterprise of the New England colonies he exclaimed, "What in the world is equal to it? While you are looking for these hardy adventurers in the arctic circle and among the tumbling mountains of ice, they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South. While some draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others are pursuing their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed with their fisheries, no cli-

mate which is not witness to their toils. Falkland Island, that seemed too remote an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and a resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry." Human nature is of all countries and ages, and what has elevated it here may ennoble it in Africa. If in vanquishing opposition, in surmounting obstacles, in subduing the hardness and taming the wildness of unintelligent nature, making her to pay tribute to civilization, and her wilderness to become fruitful fields, our minds have gained power, will the people of colour gain nothing from a like discipline. It is yet to be seen whether their experience will prove an anomaly in the history of men. And to elevate the man of colour in one part of the world is to do a general benefit to his race.

That the Colonization Society exerts a powerful moral influence, favorable to emancipation, is, as far as I know, the unanimous opinion of the friends of the colored people at the South. Their opinion is, also, that the present Anti-Slavery measures at the North retard emancipation. Is no value to be attached to their judgment in the case?

The friends and foes of the Society profess equally to adopt, as their rule of conduct, the precepts of Christ. In regard to Slavery, as in regard to all other great moral and political evils, I agree generally with Dr. Cox, that the remedy is the "genuine influence of the Gospel of Christ." But I deny that this can prove instantly, and wholly effectual. For some of the physical evils of the world, even such as have originated in moral causes, there is no immediate remedy. It is remarked by Coleridge, that "an evil which has come on gradually, and in the growth of which, all men have, more or less, conspired, cannot be removed otherwise than gradually, and by the joint efforts of all." It is impossible, instantly, to render the ignorant enlightened, the poor independent, and the long degraded and oppressed qualified for all the immunities and privileges of self-government. The general prevalence of Christianity would not render this possible. But experience forbids the hope, that Christianity will at once pervade all hearts, and genuine Christians often find their duties more or less modified by the circumstances of the society in which they are placed, by the characters and actions of those who constitute that society.

The perfect law of liberty, "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is designed to be the law of order in the world, comprehending, regulating, controlling all the duties of man to man. It refers each individual to his own bosom, for a standard by which he may judge of his neighbour's claims on him; his own self-regard is to be the measure of his charity.—Rightly interpreted, this law makes it no duty for a man, to treat all other men alike, to treat them as they may desire to be treated, or to deem one man's interest as valuable as that of many. He is bound to treat every other man as his conscience decides, he might reasonably expect that other to treat him, in an exchange of circumstances. He must estimate other men's interests in society, as he would reasonably expect his own to be estimated, were he in their condition. Governments are ordained of God for the good of men. But those who administer them, must regard the *general good as paramount* to that of individuals. If, as is remarked by South, "in the government of the visible world, the Supreme Wisdom ~~it~~ self, submits to be the author of the better; not of the best, but of the best possible, in the existing relations; much more must all human legislators give way to many evils, rather than encourage the discontent that would lead to worse remedies." "*Salus populi suprema lex*," is founded in the law of nature, and of Christ. The governing MIND, in the body politic, is morally bound to take care for the safety and life of the body. If evils exist, if the system be diseased, this MIND must judge of the particular remedies, the time and mode of their application, and that the general body

be not endangered by the suddenness or violence of their action. When men are born into a state of society, unnaturally constituted, they must take things as they are, and endeavour to make them as they should be, without needless delay, and by all practicable means. Those who have the power, must exercise it *benevolently*, as in the sight of God, and responsible to Him. Whatever there may be in the Slavery of the South, that violates the law of Christian love, and I believe there is much, is to be unhesitatingly condemned. Of the system, I cannot better express my own views than in the words of the illustrious Robert Hall:

"Slavery, considered as a perpetual state, is as incapable of vindication as the trade in slaves; they are integral parts of the same system, and in point of moral estimate, must stand or fall together."

"But here we are most anxious to guard against the misrepresentation of our sentiments. Convinced, as we are, that negro slavery is most iniquitous in its origin, most mischievous in its effects, and diametrically opposite to the genius of the British Constitution, we are yet far from proposing a *sudden revolution*. Universal experience shows, that in the body politic, no less than in the natural, inveterate diseases admit only of a *slow and gradual cure*; and we should deprecate an immediate emancipation, almost as much as the planters themselves, from a full conviction that the debasing operation of slavery, long continued, disqualifies its subjects for performing the functions and enjoying the immunities of a free citizen."

While the Christian religion lends no sanction to the system, it lends none to measures tending to its sudden and violent overthrow. It develops principles, and inculcates precepts, which will certainly remedy it, when their influence becomes general in any community, and it is the glory of our religion, that the *whole process of its operations is beneficial*, as well as the end, towards which the whole process tends. It prompts "every man to measure his efforts by his power, and his sphere of action, and do all he can do," for mankind; and society to do the same. Its great and benevolent revolutions are begun in the individual soul. It enlightens the conscience, sways the will, and softens the heart. Its meek disciple is commanded to withdraw from "the strifes of words, the railings, the evil surmises, the perverse disputings of men," who aggravate the sorrows of the suffering, increase the selfishness of the selfish, and pour oil upon the fires of revenge.

To a kind, fair and candid discussion of the slavery question, there can be no reasonable objection. It has been well said, "that half truths are the most dangerous of all errors;" and these must be "removed by the whole truth." The influence of the whole truth can never be injurious where the minds of men are capable of comprehending it.

That in the principles of the Anti-Slavery Societies of the North, is much error mixed with some truth; that the language and measures adopted to illustrate and defend them, are incapable of justification and tending to produce most fearful results, is among my clearest convictions. I deprecate them as hostile to the union of the States, to the best interests of the colored population, and as putting in jeopardy the peace and safety of whole communities at the South. I do not presume to question the motives of the members of these Societies; but I should be deaf to the voice of History, I should be blind to all the lights of human experience, I should forget the nature of man, could I believe their efforts were not adapted to stir the deepest and most terrible elements of society—elements which once wrought into fury, will shake the land, if not cover it with blood.—Reason is powerless in the hurricane of the passions.\*

\* The *compound poisons* used not unfrequently to excite discontent among the lower orders, who may suffer from the errors or the unequal operations of governments, are thus

"I have met," says Coleridge, "with men, who at the commencement of the revolution, were travelling on foot through the French provinces, and they bear witness that in the remotest villages, every tongue was employed in echoing and enforcing the doctrines of the Parisian journalists; that the public highways were crowded with enthusiasts, some shouting the watchword of the revolution; others disputing on the most abstract principles of the universal constitution, which they fully believed all the nations of the earth were shortly to adopt; the most ignorant among them confident of his fitness for the highest duties of a legislator; and all prepared to shed their blood in the defence of the inalienable rights of a self-governed people. The more abstract the notions were, with the closer affinity did they combine with the most fervent feelings and all the immediate impulses to action." God preserve us from the horrors of that day, when confidence between men shall no longer exist, and all sympathies and motives be absorbed in the instinct of self-preservation. Upon the question, whether the principles of the Colonization Society, or those of its opposers, shall prevail, may depend, I humbly conceive, the peace and happiness of the country.

Who will not rejoice to see rising on the shores of Africa a Christian State? A few small spots of light relieve the darkness of this vast continent, in which from sixty to one hundred millions, Pagans, Mahomedans and slaves, remain unvisited and unblest by the friends of man. If even the citizens of a heathen Empire could not be insensible to the moral beauty of the sentiment expressed in the words "*Homo sum, et humani nihil, a me alienum puto*," if knowledge, civilization, christianity, be of any use, surely an enlightened and religious people, will not want motives for building up in Africa a social fabric, representative of the good to be realized from piety and liberty and law. They will believe that from this fabric the light and voice of wisdom will go forth to guide the steps, reform the manners, cheer the hearts, revive the hopes and save the souls of millions. With all its difficulties, misfortunes, Liberia prospers beyond any thing in the history of colonization. Evils, abuses may exist there, but they can and will be remedied. The materials which constitute it may be rude and unformed, but they will be wrought into order and beauty and strength. It has ever been the purpose of the friends of this colony, that Christian education should keep pace with its growth.—And their confidence is, that established on right principles, and possessing a Christian character, it will regenerate the intellectual and moral state of the people of Africa.

They rejoice that the benevolent, and particularly that the ladies, in our large cities, have resolved to prepare teachers for Africa, and to sustain

described by a foreign writer who has looked deeply into the springs of human action:—

1st. "Bold, warm, and earnest assertions, it matters not whether supported by facts or no; nay, though they should involve absurdities and demonstrable impossibilities."

2nd. "Startling particular facts, which, dis severed from their context, enable a man to convey falsehood while he says truth."

3rd. "Arguments built on passing events, and deriving an undue importance from the feelings of the moment."

4th. "The display of the defects without the accompanying advantages, or vice versa."

5th. "Concealment of the general ultimate result behind the scenery of local and particular consequences."

6th. "Statement of positions that are true under particular conditions, to men whose ignorance or fury make them forget that these conditions are not present, or lead them to take for granted that they are."

7th. "Chains of questions, especially such questions as the persons best authorized to propose are ever the slowest in proposing; and objections intelligible of themselves, the answers to which require the comprehension of a system."

8th. "Vague and commonplace satire, stale as the wine in which flies were drowned last summer," &c. &c.

an adequate number of schools in Liberia and among the neighbouring tribes.

Those who feel bound to extinguish the light which holy and self-sacrificing men have suffered and died to kindle on the African coast, represent the evils in the colony and the present debt of the Society, as proofs of the futility of the scheme and ominous of its total ruin. As conclusively might they show, that, the misfortunes, attending in their early stages, the American colonies, ought to have led to their abandonment, that eternal night should have covered their glorious promise. The embarrassments of the Society have been produced, mainly, by causes incidental to the nature of the enterprise, not to have been foreseen nor prevented.— Yet the experience of these causes, may teach lessons how to provide against their recurrence, and to gain more for the future, than has been lost by the past.

Whether the greater portion of our colored population will ever find a home in Africa, is a question alike impossible and unimportant to answer. That all the tendencies of the Society are good for the whole colored race, that it interferes with or obstructs no other wise and judicious measures for their benefit, but approves of them, is enough, without defining the extent of its ultimate and final effects. The almost miraculous consequences of colonization on our own shores, may enable us to augur something of the greatness and grandeur of these effects. It will be for after ages to witness them. The mariner, who two centuries hence, shall guide his ship from the pillars of Hercules to the Cape of Good Hope, may see his mighty way illumined by the lights of a hundred cities, a constellation fair as Orion or the beaming Cross, signal placed in heaven by God's own hand, to rebuke the undevout, and to call to worship the ransomed disciple.

Though I have all faith, though I give all my goods to feed the poor, and my body to be burned, said Paul, and have not *charity*, it profiteth me nothing. He may well consider, that he has rendered his country and mankind, some service, who at times, when men's spirits are troubled, and their passions mutiny, can speak a word to calm that ocean whose first dark heavings should not be disregarded. The public mind of a nation is a deep and mighty element, capable of being so moved as to defy control and lose every attribute of humanity but its malignant power. To the shadow of an abstract right, France, with the watchword of Freedom on her lips, erected an altar to Liberty on the bones of citizens murdered by herself, and drenched it in human blood. Let the North and the South become arrayed against each other on the subject of our colored population, and we may indeed tremble for our country. And never, while I live, will I cease to urge every friend of the colored race, every friend of freedom and the Union, to cultivate peace, brotherly kindness, and charity, the threefold bond of our strength, and usefulness and glory.

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*From the Christian Mirror, May 8.*

*The African Repository* for April, is the most important number of that work, which has come into our hands this long time. Among the excellent variety which occupies its pages, is a letter from Gerrit Smith, Esq., full of piety, philanthropy and faith. He seems more encouraged than ever at the prospects of the Colonization Society; and we cannot but hope, that his expectations will be realized. We regret that we have not room for so lovely an exhibition of the Christian spirit, as this letter furnishes us.

## DEFENCE OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

A correspondent of "The Friend," a respectable Journal published at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, having assailed the American Colonization Society, its defence has been undertaken in the columns of the same print. We have great pleasure in subjoining the essays of our advocate. The mass of facts which has been brought together, and his ability and candor in managing his subject entitle these numbers to a careful perusal by all who may have adopted the erroneous opinion which it is their purpose to refute:

## IN FAVOR OF COLONIZATION.—No. 1.

MR. EDITOR,—A correspondent, in your paper of the 18th of March, promises, hereafter, to attempt to show that the American Colonization Society is anti-christian in its principle. Now, sir, I have for years believed this Society to be entirely christian in its principles, its objects and its results. Still, I can promise your correspondent, that from me his arguments shall receive a patient hearing, and with your permission, a candid examination.

The array of facts, which takes up his first communication, does not amount to much. The remarks made in January last, at the annual meeting of the Society, it ought to be recollected, were made on the spur of the moment, and without that knowledge of the whole facts, which have since been laid before the public, by the new Board of Managers.

Your correspondent himself has fallen into the same error, in the note at the close. If he had consulted the late exposition of the Board, he would have found facts which would have led him to a very different result.

Owing to the manner in which the accounts at the colony were permitted to accumulate, it is necessary to go back to 1880 in any estimate which may be made. For although, at one time since 1880, the books here showed a balance in favor of the Society, yet at no time was there, in fact a balance in its favor.

The case he puts would then stand thus:

Receipts for	\$26,583 51
1831,	27,999 15
1832,	40,365 08
1833,	37,242 45
Debt,	45,645 72
	\$177,885 91

During these four years, the number of emigrants sent out was 1589.

This exhibit reduces the expense, as stated by your correspondent, nearly one half.—But even this view does not do justice to the subject. There were many objects of a permanent nature, during these four years, requiring large expenditures, which will not again be required. Some of these were for buildings—for the purchase of Grand Bassa, and the founding the settlement there—for the opening of roads, and the expense of arms and fortifications. It is admitted, that at the colony there was a painful want of care and economy. The sickness of the last year, the failure of the rice crop, and its consequent high price, all tended to increase the expense, and ought all to be taken into the account in making an estimate. Z.

## IN FAVOR OF COLONIZATION—No. 2.

MR. EDITOR:—Your correspondent "J. L." will not, I hope, complain of my delay in noticing his remarks, when he is informed, that I am at a great distance from him.

His comparison between the good men "who support grog shops, and encourage the use of ardent spirits," and the good men who support the Colonization Society, must pass for what it is worth.

His number in your paper of the 20th March, contains three distinct charges—

1. The Society teaches the doctrine, that slavery cannot be abolished, and hence that it must exist, and we have no right to demur, or to say any thing on *this delicate subject*.
2. That the free blacks are not fit, and ought not, and must not remain among us.
3. It disparages them, and fosters a wicked prejudice against them, and thus makes their condition intolerable.

These are grave and serious charges. It is to be presumed that the writer believes them, and stands prepared to prove them. But his belief is not argument; I deny the charges in all their parts; and I call for thy proof, and the facts on which they are founded.

If he should answer, that by the abstracts given, he has proved these charges; let it be

so understood. I wish to know distinctly, whether this be the proof, on which these charges are to be supported. He professes to give extracts from the 18th, 14th and 15th annual reports of the Society. I must request him when he gives abstracts, hereafter, to favor us with a reference to the page. The expressions given are not to be found in the reports of the Board of Managers. Some of them I have found, in the speeches of individual members, but in every instance the connection is disregarded. One line from a page here, and another line from a page there; one sentiment from this speech, another sentiment from that. In the only page to which he has referred, I am sorry to find that he has given but one half of the sentence; and even the whole sentence, to be fairly treated, must be taken in connection with what precedes and with what follows it.

Hoping that his next number may give us some other proof, than the sayings and opinions—disjointed and torn from their context, of individual members—to sustain the heavy charges made against this Society, I beg leave to submit a few remarks, which lie at the very foundation of this discussion.

The Colonization Society has but a single object in view: "To colonize the free people of colour on the coast of Africa, with their own consent." The subject of slavery and anti-slavery are different subjects. *As a society*, this association have no opinions on these subjects. Their members may be slave-holders, or they may be opposed to slavery in all its forms. This is my case, and that of many others who are members of this society.—On the subject of slavery, we disagree with some other members, but we do agree on the propriety of providing an eligible and christian home for the free colored man, in the land of his fathers. Agreeing on this point, which is the only object of this association, am I to say to the other members, we disagree on other points, and therefore we cannot act together on this, although on this we are agreed? Certainly not. On such principles there is not one of our benevolent societies that could exist a single day. All experience shows, that our Society can properly conduct but one object, "But we do not protest against slavery." Certainly, *as a society*, we do not. Neither does the Bible Society, nor the Missionary Society; nor the Temperance Society.

"But the Society is supported by a class who indulge a wicked prejudice against colour." This is a very indefinite charge. It ought to have been preceded by a definition of what is "a wicked prejudice against colour." I am not conscious for one, that I entertain *such a prejudice*. Yet I am free to admit, that I have some strong feelings on the subject. I am unwilling that my son should marry a colored woman; I am unwilling that my daughter should be the bride of a negro bridegroom. Others may call this a "wicked prejudice." They may have no such antipathies; if so, it would be wicked in them to have such feelings. For myself I cannot admit that it is wicked in me to have them. But although I have these prejudices, if that must be the word, still it is not my object "to crush this class in the dust beneath our feet." Such is not the object of this Society, but the very reverse. The object is to elevate them, and through them to elevate and civilize, and send the rich blessing of the gospel, to benighted Africa. Let me ask if this has not in part been already done? Has not the colony in Liberia already been a resting place for our missionary societies? Could the beloved mission family, sent out by the Western Board, have gone to Africa, if the colony had not been planted there? The door is now open for as many missionaries as the church may send, and in the dispensation of Divine Providence, that door has been opened by this very Society, so much spoken against. Is this the fruit of "an anti-christian society."

A prominent part of the second number is again in a note at the close. He seems to intimate, that Mr. Frelinghuysen wished a favorable report, whether the truth would justify such a report or not; and that *such* a report as was thus called for, has been made. If this writer choose to rest his cause on the charge of a wilful intention of the Board of Managers to deceive the Christian public, so be it. Between him who makes such a charge, and them against whom the charge is made, your readers will decide. Z.

March 25, 1834.

### IN FAVOR OF COLONIZATION.—No. 3.

MR. EDITOR:—The 3d number against the Colonization Society, (Mar. 22,) is chiefly taken up in denouncing the evils of slavery. That is not the issue between your correspondent, J. L., and myself. If he had chosen to discuss that subject without also denouncing the Colonization Society, I would not at this time have troubled you with these remarks. But that is not the order of the day; and as he has chosen to connect these two subjects, in due time I will examine that branch of the argument. For the present, however, I enter my protest against the practice of holding the Colonization Society responsible for the opinions and expressions of its individual members. Let us calmly examine the principles and tendencies of this Society, and if these be found *unchristian*, then let it be condemned. But let it not be condemned by disjointed extracts from the speeches of individuals. That some of its friends in their speeches or communications have advanced sentiments not to be justified, may be admitted, without in the least affecting the principle and tendencies of the Society. These distinctions are so plain it is unnecessary to illustrate them. Let us, however, refer to these extracts.

The first is said to be from the 14th report. As no page is given, I have not been able to find it either in the report or speeches, but I do not say it is not there.

The second is Vol. 4, page 806. This is from an anonymous writer.

The third is, Vol. 2, page 188. This is an extract from the address of C. C. Harper to the voters of Baltimore.

The last is Vol. 3, page 26. This is from a paper printed in Indiana, quoted in the Repository, avowedly to show the state of public opinion in that quarter.

It is my settled conviction that the tendency of this Society is of vital importance to Missionary operations in Africa, to put an end to the slave trade, to elevate the people of colour—and by its moral effects to lessen the evils of slavery. If health and time be granted, in due season I shall examine each of these important items. In this number I choose to illustrate the first of these, mentioned incidentally in my last communication.

There are now in the neighborhood of Liberia two ordained missionaries, with their wives, and a young lady as a teacher sent out by the Methodist Episcopal church. There are three ordained missionaries, and the wife of one of them, and also a colored man as an assistant missionary, sent out by the Western Board of Foreign Missions. It is understood to be the intention of these societies, to strengthen and enlarge these missions, as fast as the churches may furnish the men and the means. This in fact is but the commencement of missionary effort for benighted and bleeding Africa. The door in the providence of God has been thrown wide open. The glory of our churches, may truly be said to be, their missions among the heathen; and most truly in the case of Africa, is the spirit of God now saying to the churches,—“Arise, shine, for the glory of the Lord has arisen upon you.” But by what agent has God in his providence opened this door? Let us see what was the condition of the present field of labor of our missionaries a few years ago.

Dr. E. Ayres and Lieut. Stockton came to anchor in the St. Paul's river, on 11th Dec. 1821. Next day they landed at Kings Crootown. “It had been represented to us as unsafe to go on shore without being armed, and that we should certainly be murdered and robbed. But we determined to go unarmed, as an evidence that our aim was pacific.—While sitting and waiting for the king, under the shed of a Crooman, the people kept collecting, most of them with knives hanging to their sides. At length there came five or six armed with muskets. I began to think there might be some truth in the reports. We were now surrounded by fifty or sixty armed in this way.” Appendix 6, Annual Report, page 60.

“On the 18th we again went to meet his majesty; after sitting three hours in palaver, the unfortunate subject of the slave trade was broached, and we again broke up the palaver.”—page 61. “There is scarcely a spot on the coast, which does not show traces of the slave trade, with all its attendant horrors. The arrival of a slave ship in any of the rivers, on the windward coast, is the signal for war between the natives. The hamlets of the weaker party are burnt, and the miserable survivors are carried off and sold as slaves.” Letter of marquis Londonderry to Sir Charles Stuart. March 26th, 1822. Appendix 6, Report, page 57.

“I can affirm with confidence, that at least 2000 slaves are annually shipped from the Bay between Cape Mount and Montserado.” Mr. Ashmun to the Sec. Navy, Dec. 7th, 1823. Appendix 7, rep. page 52. “The sale and transportation of slaves, I regret to state, are continued here (Montserado) without restraint or disguise.” Mr. Ashmun to Capt. Spence, 31st March, 1823.

“The head men declared that they never had any intention to sell Cape Montserado, because the spot was consecrated to one of their deities or beings of superstitious idolatry, and it was the cause for which they made war against the colony.” Capt. Spence to Sec. Navy, June 27th, 1823. page 58.

These extracts could be multiplied any extent, showing conclusively that the slave trade existed along the whole African coast. Let us now see from the testimony of eye witnesses the state of feeling and depth of moral depravity of the natives where this horrid traffic exists.

“I saw 400 slaves at Badagry crammed into a small schooner of eighty tons. The appearance of these unhappy beings was squalid and miserable in the extreme. They were fastened by the neck in pairs: only one-fourth of a yard of chain being allowed to each, and driven to the beach by a parcel of hired scoundrels, whilst their associates in cruelty were in front, pulling them along by a narrow band, their only apparel, which encircled their waists.

On leaving their native shores, the wretched slaves, set up a wild and dismal lament; but their tears failed to soften the hearts of the relentless christians, who huddled them hastily into the holds of the vessels, and the cries of the Africans were heard no more.” Landers' 1st Journal, Vol. 2, page 239.

“Badagry being a general mart for the sale of slaves, it frequently happens that the market is overstocked or no buyers are to be found. In these cases the maintenance of the slaves devolves solely upon the government. The King, unwilling to bear the expense, causes an examination to be made, when the sickly, the old, and infirm are selected and chained by themselves. Next day they are pinioned, conveyed to the banks of the river,

and, with a weight about their necks, are cast into the stream, and there left to perish by the pitiless Badagrians. Slaves who from other reasons are rejected by the merchants, undergo the same punishment, or are left to endure more lively torture at the sacrifices; by which means hundreds of human beings are annually destroyed." Page 250.

"The remnant of the unpurchased slaves, who are not drowned with their companions, and prisoners taken in war, are reserved for sacrifice to their gods; which horrid ceremony takes place at least once a month; besides a grand sacrifice once a year. Each victim being conducted to the Fetish tree, a flask of rum is given him to drink, and while he is swallowing, a fellow stealing behind with a heavy club inflicts on the back of his head a violent blow with the murderous weapon. He is then taken to the Fetish hut and beheaded and the blood received into a gourd; the body is cut open and the heart extracted entire, and while yet quivering with life presented to the king first, and afterwards to his wives and generals, who all make an incision in it with their teeth. It is then affixed to the point of a spear, and with the blood and headless body paraded through the town followed by hundreds. The remains of the heart are then cast to the dogs, and the body, cut in pieces, is stuck on the Fetish tree, where it is left till wholly devoured by the birds of prey." Page 263.

"By accident I saw this much talked of Fetish tree, a few days only after the celebration of one of the grand yearly sacrifices; and it was the most ghastly and appalling object which I had ever beheld. While proceeding to the coast we missed our way, and did not for some time discover our error. We had not advanced many miles into the country before our noses were saluted with the most overpowering effluvia, like that exhaled from putrid substance. The smell at length became wholly insupportable, and I was obliged to cover my mouth and nose with a thick handkerchief. The so much dreaded Fetish tree then suddenly burst upon my sight; its enormous branches literally covered with fragments of human bodies; and its majestic trunk surrounded by irregular heaps of human skulls. The tree stands in the centre of a large piece of open ground in the centre of the forest and is the largest tree I had ever seen. Thousands of vultures, which had been scared away by our unwelcome intrusion, were yet hovering round and over this disgusting food, and now and then pouncing fearlessly on a half devoured arm or leg. Although scenes of horror had become habitual and familiar to me, my feelings encountered a more violent shock while staring at the overwhelming scene than I had ever before experienced; the huge branches of the Fetish tree groaning beneath their burden of human flesh and bones, sluggishly waving in consequence of the sudden retreat of the birds of prey; the intense heat of a vertical sun; the intolerable stench of the corrupt corpses, the heaps of human heads and skulls; the awful stillness and solitude of the place disturbed only by the frightful screaming of voracious vultures as they flapped their sable wings almost in my face, all tended to overpower me; my heart sickened within me; a dimness came over my eyes; my legs refused to support me, and turning my head I fell senseless into the arms of Jowdie, my faithful attendant. Pasce assisted to bear me from the scene of blood, and the two blacks emptying a calabash of water on my head and face, I slowly revived; and after a slight refreshment, pursued my journey by another path." Page 265.

Such was the condition of Africa before the colony of Liberia was planted there.—There Satan had his seat, and rained with the despotism of the bottomless pit. The churches of Christ in the United States, beheld her lost and helpless condition; but to behold this moral death, and to weep and pray over it, appeared to be all that could be done. Prayers indeed ascended in her favor to the throne of grace, that the way might be opened for the entrance of the True Light, and those prayers, blessed be God, were answered, and were answered too by the instrumentality of this very Society, now so much abused and vilified. The sons and daughters of the churches are now there. The devoted missionary has planted the standard of the Prince of Peace, and unfurled the banner of the cross, on that very Mount, so recently sacred to the demons of the heathen; and there, at this moment, are the children of the heathen in the Sabbath Schools, clustering around their teachers,—and on that blood-stained coast the sound of the gospel is heard;—Zion, the city of our solemnities is there, and better than all, there has rested, and now rests, the blessing of Zion's King.

I confess that to me, it is a matter of astonishment, and deep and most painful feeling, to see good men, men who love the Saviour and the Saviour's cause, arrayed in most deadly and determined opposition, to that very Society which God in his providence has made the very means of enabling his churches in the United States, to occupy these dark places so full of horrid cruelty. "Thy kingdom come," is the daily prayer of many of these men. "Let the Colonization Society perish,—perish Liberia," is their daily work. Suppose they succeed in their work,—in opposition to their prayers,—suppose the Society is put down at home, in a few years the besom of desolation will sweep over the colony, some of the colonists will return to the United States, others will become incorporated with the heathen, the missionaries are driven out; the slave-trade, with all its horrors, again pollutes the whole coast, the standard of the cross gives place to the altar of the bloody demon of Montserado, the fetish tree is again bedewed with human blood. The grave of Coxe, dishonored and despised, is enclosed by the fetish hut,—and his honored and hallowed name must be erased from our memories. His dying words, that true and touching speci-

men of the moral sublime—"Let thousands fall before Africa is abandoned," is but the effusion of derangement and folly. His life and his labors, and the lives and labors of Mills and Ashmun, have all been in vain.

To effect these results, we see societies formed, printing presses erected, men of talents, of wealth and influence, many of them men of piety zealously, some of them recklessly engaged. My soul almost sickens at the thought; because, if they succeed, our entire missionary operations in Western Africa must be abandoned. But these men, with all their efforts cannot succeed. I know how vain is all human reasoning when presented to minds previously occupied with a darling object; but I know, on the other hand, who has said, that "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hand unto God." Z.

March 31, 1834.

#### IN FAVOR OF COLONIZATION.—No. 4.

MR. EDITOR:—Your correspondent, J. L., assumes in his 4th number, that the Colonization Society is evil, and only evil; that no good it may do, will cure the wickedness inherent in the Institution. Do what good it may, it is still the upas tree. But may I be permitted to ask, where has all this been proved? Certainly not in his first four numbers; unless indeed we take unqualified assertion for proof. In my second number I called on him to sustain his charges; and I hope that call will yet be answered. It will be no answer, however, to prove that the free blacks ought to be better treated in the United States than they now are. Although I cannot with him consider the black man as "a white man," because I am not yet prepared for an amalgamation of the two races, still I wish more attention were paid to the moral elevation of this class among us. But what has that to do with colonization? I wish from my heart that every free colored person and every slave were sincere Christians; but I am yet to learn in what possible way the Colonization Society interferes with any measures pointed out in the Bible to effect this great and desirable end. How we injure those in the United States by building up a Christian colony in Africa for those willing to go there, requires some proof. Until that proof is afforded, I will pursue the course already indicated, to show the advantages, and Christian tendencies of the Colonization cause.

One of the favorable tendencies of the Colonization Society, as claimed by its friends, is its salutary and decisive influence in putting a stop to the slave trade. I propose in this number to commence the examination of this branch of the argument.

This part of the subject, it will be admitted by all, is of great and deep importance. I propose to examine, first the efforts that have been made by the Government of the United States, and the Governments of Europe, in opposition to this iniquitous traffic; then the result of those efforts, on the trade itself; and finally what effect the Colony of Liberia has had, or may have against the same demoralizing trade. In the dry detail of referring to laws and treaties, I hope your readers will not weary. Although they will find no appeals here to the imagination, yet here are facts, without which, no just decision can be made.

The traffic in negroes was commenced in the beginning of the 16th century, by the Portuguese, and after them by all the nations of Europe, who had colonial possessions.—When the slave trade became general, it became a great source of profit, to the petty African despots, and gave rise to interminable wars and outrages, which struck at the root of all social ties. Some writers estimate the number thus sold into slavery, during the last three centuries, at forty millions. This estimate is quite uncertain, but we know the number must have been very great.

The first opposition to this barbarous traffic, which I have been able to find, was by the general court of Massachusetts. In 1545, a law was made "prohibiting the buying and selling of slaves, except those taken in lawful war or reduced to servitude for their crimes, by a judicial sentence, and these were to have the same privileges as were allowed by the laws of Moses."—4th Vol. Mass. Hist. Col. page 195.

The courts of justice of Massachusetts, when the subject of slavery was brought before them, sustained and went beyond the legislature. The first trial took place in 1770, and terminated in favor of the negroes. In this suit, several blacks had sued their masters for their freedom and for wages for past services.—Same Vol. page 202.

Virginia, by a series of 23 acts, the first passed in 1699, brought the whole force of her legislative authority to bear against this traffic. On the 1st of April, 1772, her most eloquent memorial against this trade, was presented to the British Throne. In October, 1778, during the tumult and pressure of the revolutionary war, this trade, under heavy penalties, was prohibited.—Tucker's Blackstone, Vol. 2, Appendix, p. 23.

Most of the other states, before the adoption of the constitution of the United States, also prohibited this demoralizing traffic.

The Friends, or Quakers, at an early period, stood up for the rights of this unfortunate race. Their opposition commenced as early as 1727. In 1751, they abolished slavery among themselves. In 1772, by the efforts of Granville Sharp, the English courts decided, that slavery could not exist in England. This great and good man, was the soul of

all the efforts in England, to put a stop to the slave trade. In 1783, Wilberforce presented the first petition to Parliament. In prosecution of this holy cause, the philanthropists of Great Britain persevered, till the 10th of June, 1806, when the House of Commons declared the slave trade inconsistent with justice, humanity, and sound policy; and on the 6th of February, 1807, the act of Parliament passed, fixing the 1st of January, 1808, for the final abolition of this traffic.

By the constitution of the United States, Congress had no power to prohibit this trade, till January 1st, 1808. But long before that period, various acts of legislation passed, containing rigorous penalties, all tending to suppress this traffic.

The act of 22d of March, 1794, under the penalty of forfeiture of the vessel and heavy damages, prohibited any of the citizens of the United States or persons residing therein, from carrying slaves for sale to any foreign kingdom.

By the act of 3rd of April, 1798, all slaves carried into the Mississippi territory, to which the constitutional provision did not extend, were declared to be free.

By the act of 10th of May, 1800, citizens and residents, under heavy penalties, were prohibited from holding any right or property, or services, in vessels engaged in transporting slaves from one foreign country to another. The public ships of the United States were authorized to seize such vessels and crews.

The act of 28th of February, 1803, under heavy penalties, forbid masters of vessels from landing slaves in any state, where the state laws forbid their importation.

By the act of 2nd of March, 1807, the importation of slaves into the United States, was prohibited after the 1st of January, 1808, the time prescribed by the constitution. This act contains many severe provisions against any participation in the slave trade; such as long imprisonments, heavy fines, forfeiture of vessels, &c. The navy, also, was to be employed in bringing the offenders to justice. This act went into operation on the day when the British act of Parliament prohibited the traffic.

By the act of 20th of April, 1818, the prohibitory laws were further improved. Among other precautionary provisions, the labor of proof was thrown upon the defendant.

By the act of 3rd of March, 1819, the penalties of former acts were extended to the officers and crews of the offending vessels. The President was authorized to return the recaptured Africans to Africa, and appoint agents there to receive and take care of them.

In addition to all these, by the act of 15th of May, 1820, the slave trade was declared to be piracy, and all those engaged in it, should be adjudged pirates, and on conviction, *shall suffer death.*

In the mean time, by the noble and persevering efforts of Great Britain, all Europe had been aroused to the iniquity of this immoral and pernicious traffic, and various legislative and diplomatic measures were adopted against it.

On the 8th of February, 1815, the five principal powers of Europe, at the Congress of Vienna, made a solemn engagement that the traffic should be made to cease.

In Denmark, the trade, by law, ceased on the 1st of January, 1803. In Sweden, on the 3rd of March, 1813.

Napoleon, in 1814, on his return from the Isle of Elba, interdicted the slave trade; and on the 30th of July, 1815, Talleyrand announced to Lord Castlereagh, that the slave trade was thenceforward, forever; and universally forbidden to their subjects.

The Netherlands stipulated for its abolition on the 4th of May, 1818.

Spain promised, in her treaty with Great Britain, of 30th of September, 1817, to abolish the slave trade entirely, on the 31st of October, 1820; and Great Britain, on the 9th of February, 1818, paid her £400,000 sterling, as an indemnity to Spanish subjects.

Portugal, in her treaty in 1817, stipulated to abolish the traffic north of the Equator, and at the same time agreed, that in 1823, the traffic should cease south of that line, England agreeing to pay her £300,000 sterling as an indemnity. By the treaty with Brazil of the 3rd of November, 1826, the entire trade, by her subjects, was to cease in three years from that date.

By the treaties with Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Brazil, it was further stipulated that the reciprocal right of search should exist between them respectively, and the British Government; and that mixed courts of adjudication should be created, at Sierra Leone, Havana, and Rio de Janeiro. Each of these courts consisted, on the part of each Government, of one commissioner judge, one arbitrator, and one secretary.

From this examination, it appears that every Government in Christendom, has, for years, been arrayed against the continuance of the slave trade. Laws have been enacted, treaties have been formed, judicial decisions have been multiplied, and ships of war have been commissioned to arrest the progress of a traffic stained with blood, murderous to its objects, and searing and blasting every thing human in the hearts and the souls of its perpetrators. The effect of these mighty efforts, and the success, or rather the want of success which has resulted from them, I propose to examine in my next number. Z.

April 7th, 1834.

#### IN FAVOR OF COLONIZATION.—No. 5.

MR. EDITOR:—After perusing the 5th number of your correspondent "J. L." I am led

to think, that the present discussion will not be of much interest to your readers, and that it promises to be of little use to him or to myself. In that number, if I understand him, he goes for an entire amalgamation of the white and the colored races; and contends that my objections, stated in a former number, are in violation of the great precept, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." I certainly have no fault to find with him for so understanding the great second command of the moral law. But I have other engagements, of more importance, in my opinion, than to contest such a principle in the public prints. I will not quarrel, with the man who openly avows, that he has no objection, nay, that it is his duty to give his consent to the marriage of his son or daughter with a colored person,—or if he be a bachelor—for I have not the pleasure of knowing your correspondent—that he has no objection to take one of the sable daughters of Africa to his bosom. I will suggest to him merely, whether if all men were even of his opinion in this matter, it would not still be a solemn duty for the sake of Africa, to permit those who were willing, to go there.

He does not, I think, do me justice in reference to my remarks on his quotations. I assure him I did not intend to cry "bad dog." But I did intend to state the truth. He made quotations and referred generally to the different Reports, I stated these quotations were not from the Reports of the Board of Managers. I repeat that statement. A report of the board is one thing, a speech from an individual is a different thing. I am called "to put my finger on the spot." This is rather hard. I requested J. L. to give us a page, but without regarding this reasonable request, he throws the question back again. I can say to him that my call was in no unfriendly tone. That he had not referred to the pages, and stated who used the language he quoted, I supposed was a mere inadvertence on his part. But I thought it important that your readers should know whether a quotation was to be charged to the board, or to one of the speeches, or to some correspondent. I hope hereafter he will give us the page, and state who it is that uses the words quoted. Let him do this with his first quotations, and what he requires from me will be unnecessary.

His questions at the close rather amuse me. I hope he will not consider it all unkind if I say to him, that I have no doubt he can answer those questions for me.

In my last number I referred to the laws, judicial decisions, treaties, and other efforts adopted for the suppression of the slave trade. On examining the various measures taken by so many governments for the abolition of this bloody traffic, the first impression of the mind is, that the trade no longer exists. The painful and sickening facts, however, leave it doubtful, whether the traffic have been materially lessened; while it is certain that in order to escape discovery and capture, the horrors and cruelty incident to the trade in any form, have been increased ten fold. In referring to authentic sources of information on this subject, my difficulty has been to make selections. I have omitted all cases of individual capture, and confined myself to those documents and statements which give results. These I will now proceed to lay before your readers.

In Dec. 1816, the African Society in London state, that the estimate of slaves carried from the Western coast of Africa, across the Atlantic, at present amount to upwards of 60,000.—*Third inclosure submitted by Lord Castlereagh, to the ministers of the five powers. Feb. 4, 1818.*

Col. M'Carty, Gov. of Sierra Leone, writes as follows, 20th April, 1817. "I am grieved to say, that there is nothing favorable to state with respect to the slave trade, which has actually extended three times as far as at any period during the late war." June 28, 1817. "The coast is crowded with slave ships, and no trade can be done where they are. July 20, 1817. "The slave trade is raging dreadfully on the coast. Goree has become quite an emporium of this traffic. No other trade can be carried on where the slave trade prevails."—*4th Inclosure, as above.*

The Church Missionary Society, in relation to their operations in Africa, thus write. "The country was gradually opening itself to the instructions of the Missionaries, when the revival of the slave trade proved a temptation too great to be resisted. So great is the demoralizing effects of the slave trade, and so inveterate the evil habits it generates, that it may be necessary to withdraw the Society's settlements formed beyond the precincts of the colony of Sierra Leone."—*4th Inclosure, as above.*

"Not less than 6000 captured Africans have been landed at Sierra Leone, by the British ships of war. The slave trade is carried on to a very great extent. There are probably not less than 300 vessels on the coast engaged in that traffic each having two or three sets of papers. You have no idea how cruelly these poor creatures are treated by the monsters engaged in taking them from the coast."—*Capt. Trenchard, off Sierra Leone, to Sec. Navy, 10th April, 1820. Cong. Rep. 1830. No. 314, p. 347.*

"The slave trade is carried on briskly in the neighborhood of Sherbro Island. There is a vessel under American colors within 25 miles of us, taking in a cargo of slaves."—*Rev. S. Bacon, to Sec. Navy, same report.*

"The annual average number of slaves withdrawn from Africa, is from 50,000 to 80,000."—*Report Com. Cong. 9th Feb. 1821.*

"The committee are unable to state whether those American merchants, the American capital, and seamen, which heretofore aided in this traffic, have abandoned it altogether,

or have sought shelter under the flag of other nations. The trade, however, increases annually, under the flag of other nations."—*Rep. to Congress, 12th April, 1823.*

In the nineteenth report of the British African Institution, in 1825, the names and description of 218 vessels are given, engaged, or strongly suspected of being engaged in the slave trade.—*Rep. to Cong. 7th April, 1830. page 276.*

There were imported into Mauritius, from 12th June, 1823, to 12th April, 1826, 840 slaves.—*British State Papers. Vol. 25, No. 68, page 26.*

The captures by a single British squadron were as follows,—1824, seven vessels with 1613 slaves; 1825, nineteen vessels, with 3649 slaves; 1826, seventeen vessels, with 3589 slaves; 1827, nineteen vessels, with 1963 slaves.—*British State Papers. Vol. 26, No. 366.*

There were imported into Bahia, from 1st April to June 9, 1827, 3089 slaves, in fifteen vessels.—*Vol. 26. No. 542, page 253.*

There were imported into the port of Naranham, in 1826, 553 slaves.—*Same, page 256.*

There were seventeen French vessels boarded by the African from 3rd Aug. to 23rd Nov. 1826, containing 2577 slaves.—*Same, page 265.*

The mixed commission at Sierra Leone condemned slavers as follows: 1825, ten vessels with 752 slaves. 1826, twenty vessels with 4017 slaves. Till July 1827, seventeen vessels with 1750 slaves.—*Same, page 13.*

The importations into Rio de Janeiro were as follows 1820, 15020 slaves—1821, 24,134.—1822, 27,863.—1823, 20,349.—1824, 29,503.—1825, 26,254.—1826, 83,999.—1827, 29,789.—1828, 43,555.—1829 to 1st March, 18,459. Walsh's Brazil.—*Vol. 2, page 178.*

The British Squadron on the coast of Africa in 1829, captured 22 vessels with 5210 slaves; and from 8th Nov. 1830, to 19th March, 1832, eleven vessels with 2,627 slaves.—*Surgeon Leonard's records of a voyage, page 268-9.*

One or two cases will show the sickening and horrid cruelty, with which this detestable and murderous traffic is now carried on.

On the 10th of Sept. 1831, the two tenders in company, chased into the river Bouny and captured the Spanish brigs, Rapido and Regulo, the former of 175 tons, eight large guns, fifty six men, and 204 slaves; the latter 147 tons, five large guns, fifty men and two slaves; both bound to Cuba. Connected with the capture of these two vessels, a circumstance of the most horrid and revolting nature occurred, the relation of which will afford an additional instance of the cruelty and apathy of those who carry on the slave trade.—During the chase, they were seen from our vessels to throw their slaves overboard, by twos, shackled together by the ancles, and left in this manner to sink or swim as they best could! Men, women, and young children were seen in great numbers struggling in the water, by every one on board the two tenders; and dreadful to relate upwards of 150 of these wretched creatures perished in this way, without there being a hand to help them; for they had all disappeared before the tenders reached the spot, excepting two, who were fortunately saved."—*Leonard's records of a voyage, page 284.*

I havintended to relate other cases, but I am sick at heart with the exhibition of the dreadful extent to which the trade is still carried on, and the bloody and horrible cruelty with which it is now accompanied.

In my first number I showed the extent of the efforts made to stop the slave trade, in this number I have shown that the trade is carried on, to its usual extent, and with increased and increasing horrors. From this melancholy review it will be seen how inefficient have hitherto been all the noble efforts of governments, aided by the great and good men in the United States and in Europe. The Christian world must turn to and employ some other agency, or the trade will continue. In my next I shall examine the tendency, which the colony of Liberia, and other colonies have had and will have to arrest and finally stop this odious traffic.

April 14, 1834.

#### IN FAVOR OF COLONIZATION.—No. 6.

MR. EDITOR:—In his 6th number, your correspondent J. L., instead of proving the charges made and reiterated in his previous numbers, against the Colonization Society, informs us, that "we will for the present ground our weapons."

When I read this, I supposed we were to have no more indefinite and groundless charges; no more extracts from speeches, quoted as *Reports* of the Board of Managers; and that if former charges were not attempted to be proved, new charges at least would not be made. In all this I was mistaken. The grounding of his weapon, is but the arrow of the flying Parthian; and the writer who in every page has cried out, Do as you would be done by, shuts his eyes and stops his ears to that other precept, Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

"We now understand the Board and Z. to say—that they do not expect or design to affect the system of slavery, or to benefit to any extent the free people of colour; or even to do more for Africa, than keep a kind of warlike or military garrison, into which missionaries may retreat when their God neglects to protect and stand by them."

I hope Z. will never follow the example here set, of trifling with and profaning the great and holy name of Him who made the heavens and the earth; and however much it may suit your correspondent to ridicule and make sport of the missionary enterprise, he may be assured there are thousands and hundreds of thousands, who will no more respect his wit, than they will approve his profanity. Where has Z. said what he is here charged with saying? But I forbear. It was not to notice such a mode of reasoning, that I asked the privilege of using the columns of the "Friend."

What agency the colonization cause has had, or may have in arresting the slave trade, is very much a question of evidence. One fact here is worth a hundred speculations; and the testimony of men on the spot, is, and must be, conclusive, be that testimony what it may. But it will be found, that in the facts stated by eye witnesses of what they relate, and in the judgment of those, who from their situation in Africa are able to decide correctly, there is entire unanimity.

"The policy which I have invariably pursued in all the intercourse of the colony with the natives, is that of humanity, benevolence and justice. They have been treated as men and brethren of a common family. We have practically taught them in the spirit of the Parent Institution, that one end of our settlement in their country, is to do them good. We have adopted sixty of their children; and brought them forward as children of the colony—and shown a tender regard for their happiness and a sacred regard to their rights, even when possessed of a dictatorial power over both. In this conduct a new and surprising view of the character of civilized man has been presented to them. They have for the first time witnessed the effort of principles superior to the hopes of mercenary advantage, in this conduct of the settlers, and for the first time appear to be apprised of the fact, that among civilized people, there is a good as well as a bad class. They have learnt from this colony, what no other foreigners have cared to teach them—their immortality—their accountability to God who made them, and the destruction which certainly awaits at last the unrestrained indulgence of their lusts and vices. They have for the first time learned and still can scarcely believe, that thousands of strangers, in another hemisphere, are cordially interested in the advancement of their happiness. Our influence over them is unbounded. We have their confidence and their friendship, and those built on the fullest conviction, that we are incapable of betraying the one or violating the other.

"One of the most obvious effects of this colony has already been to check, in this part of Africa, the prevalence of the slave trade. Between Cape Mount and Tradetown, comprehending a line of 140 miles, not a slaver dares to attempt this guilty traffic; our influence with the natives, of this section of the coast, is known to be so great, as to expose to certain miscarriage, any transaction entered into with them for slaves. But there is a moral feeling at work in the minds of most of our neighbours, contracted doubtless by means of their intercourse with the colony, which represents to them the dark business in a new aspect of repulsiveness and absurdity. Most are convinced that it is indeed a *bad business*. But minds even as ignorant as theirs, cannot be unaffected to see foreigners more concerned for the welfare of Africans than Africans for each other. Perhaps it is yet to be seen, that the most barbarous of practices may be effectually undermined, by an influence as silent and unpretending as the persuasive power of Christian example." Mr. Ashmun to the Board, 31st Dec., 1825. Repository, vol. 2. p. 97—99.

"We have thought proper to interdict the slave trade on the whole line of coast, comprehended between Cape Mount and Tradetown, both inclusive. The ground assumed is that of a qualified jurisdiction, actually held by the colony over this whole district. It is believed that no slaver will proceed to land her cargo, (and without landing it he cannot get slaves,) in the face of such an interdict formally notified to him. But, in case his audacity prevails, and the goods are landed, we have only to announce to the native chiefs of the place, that, according to the laws of the colony, those goods are forfeited, and an instant seizure, in nine cases out of ten, is certain to follow."—Mr. Ashmun to the Board, 10th May, 1826. Repository, p. 184.

"The importance of this colony, as it regards the native tribes of the coast, is, in my estimation, great. They already begin to perceive that it is civilization and the blessings of religion, which give superiority to man over his fellow man. They had supposed it was the white skin; but now they see in their neighbourhood men of their own colour, enjoying all those advantages, hitherto deemed peculiar to the former. This has elicited a spirit of inquiry, which must tend to their benefit. The philanthropist may anticipate the day when our language and religion will spread over this now benighted land. The slave trade will cease as the colony progresses and extends its settlements. The very spot where now exists a free people, was a depot for the reception of manacled slaves. This fact alone is entitled to consideration, and ought to arouse the zeal of the friends of humanity every where."—Captain Nicholson, of the United States Navy, to Mr. Clay, 1828.—Repository, vol. 4, p. 95.

"I have concluded to continue the factory at Grand Bassa, as I find it is the means of our exercising a considerable influence over a large tract of country. The chiefs have promised if I continue the factory, to pay their debts, and have nothing to do with the slave.

trade, nor permit any slaves to be sold in their territory."—Dr. Mechlin to the Board, 31st August, 1829. *Repository*, vol. 5, p. 280.

"Most of the petty kings around us would gladly place themselves under our protection. On the death of King Peter, his head man, assumed the name of King Long Peter, and placed himself and people under the protection of the colony. A deputation was sent down to inform me of the fact, and receive my orders respecting their future disposal.—They were informed that hereafter they would be subject to our laws, that they must consider themselves Americans, and entirely independent of the neighbouring tribes, who should not molest them.

"When this was made known to them, it was received with shouts of joy, and they could scarcely be restrained from coming down in a body to visit us, though then late in the afternoon. The advantages to be derived from this arrangement, they are well aware of. They are at once freed from the oppressive customs and laws of the surrounding tribes, and know they cannot be sold into slavery, as they were before at any moment liable to be. They will be secured from the hostile incursions of other tribes, for such is the terror with which we have inspired them, that they will not molest any whom they consider as belonging to the colony.

"I find our colony is becoming more known in the interior, from the increased number of Mandingoes who resort to us. These people form the connecting link, or medium of communication, between the interior tribes and those inhabiting the sea coast."—Dr. Mechlin to the Board, 20th March, 1830. *Repository*, vol. 6, p. 53—55.

"The Thupoops, a warlike tribe who inhabit the country in the interior, at no great distance from Sierra Leone, have for several years waged a cruel and destructive war with their neighbours, murdering and enslaving all on whom they could lay their hands. In the progress of their victory, they reached the Sherbro Bullooms, (a tribe inhabiting the fine country directly southeast of Sierra Leone, and extending 120 miles along the coast,) and manifested a disposition to exterminate them by the sword, or reduce them to slavery. Under these circumstances the chiefs placed themselves under the protection of the British Government, and on the 24th of September last, entered into a formal treaty. In accordance with this treaty, Major General Turner, on the 4th of October, issued his proclamation, declaring the acquired territory an integral part of Sierra Leone. Thus is the slave trade forever abolished, in a country which has commonly yielded fifteen or twenty thousand victims annually."—*London Missionary Register* for December, 1825.

"In Freetown there are two government schools, on Bell's system, for the education of black children of every race, Maroons, Settlers and liberated Africans. In the male school, there are at present, 385 divided into ten classes. The boys are taught reading, writing and arithmetic only; the girls, besides these, are instructed in needle work. Every attention seems to be paid to their instruction; and, besides being remarkably clean, neatly dressed, and well behaved, the progress they have made in these branches of education, deserves the highest praise."—Surgeon Leonard's Records of a voyage to Africa, 1830-2, p. 59.

"There is no scarcity of Methodist chapels and meeting-houses in the place; and almost all the villages possess some residents attached to the Church Missionary Society, who, by their strenuous exertions in the cause of morality and religion, have all along been extremely unpopular among the dissolute Europeans."—Page 60.

"During my visits to Kipey, I occasionally entered the church while the negro children were singing a diurnal song of praise, superintended by a black missionary assistant belonging to the village. As my visits were always accidental, the children were, of course, quite unprepared, and I cannot speak too highly of the progress they appeared to have made in reading and writing, and of their clean and neat appearance."—Page 70.

"The trade of the colony employs about 50,000 tons of shipping annually. Since the suppression of the slave trade in these rivers, the system of vassalage and enlistment, under the banner of a chief, which was so necessary for personal protection during its continuance, has ceased to exist; and the sun of freedom having poured his benignant beams on the desecrated soil, industry has been fostered and every description of work has made rapid progress among the native tribes in the vicinity."—Page 71.

"It is among the children of these people brought up in the colony, that their mental capacity is to be judged of; and the children in the government schools at Freetown, as well as in those of the villages, appeared to me to be equal in intelligence and acquirements to European children of the same age."—Page 91.

"Two things are worthy of remark among these poor Africans:—Great external respect is paid to the Sabbath. The blacks on that day are clean and neatly dressed, the religious meetings are well attended, and the busy clamour of the week is hushed into a solemn stillness, more impressive even than the calm serenity which pervades every thing on that hallowed day in our own free and happy land."—Page 94.

There is no man now living who knows better what is the condition of Africa, and what are her wants, than the Rev. Dr. Philip. No man knows better what are the proper means to be employed, to raise her from the dust, to put a stop to the slave trade, to bestow upon her the rich blessings of the gospel, of free institutions and the knowledge and arts of civiliz-

ed life. His situation enables him to state facts; the strength and clearness of his mind, and the soundness of his judgment, give a value to every thing he says; and his pure Christian principles and the entire devotion of his whole life for the good of Africa, is a pledge for the truth of his remarks, not to be questioned. From the latest writings of this distinguished man, I shall make a few extracts, to which I call the serious attention of your readers.

"The gospel never can have a permanent footing in a barbarous country, unless education and civilization go hand in hand with our religious instructions. On any other principle, we may labor for centuries without getting a step nearer our object—the conversion of the world to God—than that which may have been attained in the first ten or twelve years of our missions."—Dr. Philip to the Society for Enquiry on Missions. Princeton. London Missionary Register, Jan. 1834, p. 9.

"Missionaries have two difficulties to encounter in this country—the demoralized state of the people, and the zeal of the Mahommedans among them. There is something in the doctrines of the Koran, exceedingly favorable to the dominion of its votaries, in such a country as Africa: they raise the savage to the condition of the barbarian; but there is nothing in them to raise them above a semi-barbarous state of society, and there is something in them to prevent a higher rise in the scale of civilization. A Christian community in the centre of Africa, would soon gain the ascendancy in that quarter. Could you plant another colony, like that of Liberia, on the banks of the Niger, it might be the means of rolling back the tide of Mahommedanism which appears to have set in with so strong a current from the North, and of establishing a Christian state in the centre of Africa. A solitary individual may do much among a reading people, and who hold many principles in common with himself, to which he can appeal in his addresses to their understanding and their hearts; but in such a country as Africa, we must concentrate our strength; and keep firm possession of every inch which we have gained; and make use of the resources which we may be able to raise on it, for the further extension of our conquests."—Same letter, Foreign Miss. Reg., page 12.

On the facts here related, and the testimony of so many competent and enlightened witnesses, I submit the subject to the sober judgment of your readers. My object has been to reach their understanding, to convince their judgment, not to carry their imagination.

Although I have divided the subject of the slave trade into three numbers, it is but one subject, and would have appeared better in a single number, embracing, as I have attempted to elucidate it; first, the effort made by the Christian world to arrest this bloody and murderous traffic; second, the inefficiency of those efforts; and lastly, that the Colonization cause, is the only agency able to arrest its progress, and finally blot from existence this deepest stain on the annals of the human race.

Z.

April 21, 1834.

## NEW ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY.

The unanimity of the proceedings which were adopted at the last Annual Meeting of the Colonization Society, for its reorganization, however gratifying to its friends, has not, it would seem, entirely silenced the cavils of its opponents. Some misrepresentations, to which it must be regretted that so respectable a print as the New-York Evangelist should have given currency, have led to the following conclusive publication, by a distinguished friend of Colonization, in the New-Haven Religious Intelligencer:—

The very respectable standing of the New York Evangelist as a religious newspaper, makes it necessary for me to correct, in this public manner, an erroneous statement respecting the late meeting of the American Colonization Society, to which the proprietors of that paper seem to be giving the most extensive circulation in their power. The statement to which I refer, is found in the last sentence of the Editor's report of the proceedings at that meeting, published in the Evangelist of the 1st instant. The Editor asserts, that 'the attempted reform' was ended, 'leaving all things in regard to the management, &c. as they were from the beginning.' *This assertion is entirely untrue.* If it were necessary, I think I could explain how the respected Editor came to make such a statement.—I doubt not that he made it with a good conscience.

I went to Washington at the appointment of the Managers of the Connecticut Colonization Society, and at the urgent solicitation of intelligent and benevolent men, in this State and out of it, with a view to aid in effecting a reform in the organization and management of the American Colonization Society. The reform which I, and those in whose behalf I acted, desired, has been effected. The Society consists now, of life-members

and delegates from auxiliaries. The President and Vice Presidents are no longer *ex-officio* Managers. The direction of the Institution, instead of being left in the hands of an indefinite and imperfectly responsible body, is now committed to the executive officers and nine other individuals, who will annually render a strict account to their constituents. I feel no hesitation in saying for my colleagues as well as for myself, that we have full confidence in the ability, fidelity and benevolent views of the new Board as it is actually constituted. And what is of no inferior consequence, while these reforms were discussed with much freedom, and while on particular points of discussion there was no little difference of opinion, the reformed constitution was finally agreed to, and the reformed Board of Managers was elected with entire unanimity.

My confidence in the success of the colony of Liberia, is not impaired, but strengthened. The want of management here and in Africa, by which the cause has been so much embarrassed, is at an end. The only constitutional objection of the Society, namely, the voluntary colonization of people of colour, now free or to be freed hereafter, will be pursued, I doubt not, vigorously, wisely and with *singleness of purpose*. With the discussion of the ethics of slavery, or the principles and process of its abolition, the Society has nothing to do; nor will the present Board be disposed to meddle with that subject. On the other hand, I am equally confident that the Society, as now organized, will not suffer itself to become auxiliary to any scheme for the compulsory removal or the increased oppression of the colored people.

The Editors of papers friendly to the cause of African Improvement, are respectfully requested to give this communication a place in their columns.

LEONARD BACON.

*New-Haven, 18th of Feb. 1834.*

## TO THE FRIENDS OF COLONIZATION.

The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, deem it their duty to call upon all who, with them, have this great object at heart, to recollect that the season is coming around, (our National Jubilee) when benevolent Clergymen of every denomination throughout the United States, have heretofore called the attention of their congregations to the claims of this Society; which calls, have afforded to it great support in carrying on their important work; and it is confidently expected that the call for the present year, will be equally successful.

The appeal now made, is prompted by considerations of the most pressing character. Much of the aid which, under ordinary circumstances, would have been given towards carrying on the operations of the Society, has been, and will probably continue to be afforded in the form of subscriptions to the loan of fifty thousand dollars proposed to be made by the Board for the purpose of extinguishing the debt of the Institution. The efforts to dispose of this stock loan have been attended with partial success; and the Board are encouraged to hope, that patience and perseverance will secure the full accomplishment of the scheme. But the avails of the loan being of course designed for the special object of paying the debt, the Managers must look to other sources for means to prosecute general objects. Among these are several important plans for the religious, moral and agricultural improvement of the Colony, which if realized cannot fail, they confidently believe, to render Liberia a residence powerfully attracting every free man of colour, who desires to elevate himself in the scale of social being. They trust that the Reverend Clergy throughout the Union, sympathizing with them in zeal for this purpose, will give to it the strong aid of their influence and eloquence on the approaching

FOURTH OF JULY.

It is to contributions arising from their exertions on that occasion; to the Auxiliary Societies; and to the public spirited individuals who have, from time to time set on foot, and carried into effect voluntary subscriptions, that the Parent Society looks for support in establishing a well-organized,

civilized and religious Society of free coloured people on the barbarous shores of Africa.

The Society has occasionally employed special Agents for the purpose of spreading information on this subject in different parts of the Union, and of collecting funds; but though in some instances this course has been successful, in others, a great portion of the money collected has been expended in compensating the Agents and in paying their travelling expenses.

It is apprehended that many of the Auxiliary Societies have become inactive. When first organized, some of them, it is believed, proposed to raise a certain amount within a limited time, and after this was effected, the exertions of the Society ceased. It is earnestly hoped, that in all such cases, the Societies will be revived, and that each member will agree to make a moderate annual payment; as, unless the Parent Society receives a regular support from its Auxiliaries, it cannot effect the great objects of its Institution.

The Board of Managers have already stated that the REV. JOHN B. PINNEY has been appointed temporary Agent of the Colony; and from the active, persevering industry which he has exhibited in the short time he has been in the country, and especially from the exertions which he is making to promote the agricultural interests of the Colony, which must prove the means of greatly increasing its prosperity and happiness, they hope the Board of Directors of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, in whose service he went to the Colony, may consent that he may continue to occupy that important station.

May, 1834.

#### FROM LIBERIA.

Letter from the REV. MATTHEW LAIRD, addressed to the Stated Clerk of the Presbytery of Northumberland, dated MONROVIA, Feb. 25, 1834.

*Friends and Brethren, greatly beloved:*

The idea of conversing with you all once more, though it be through the instrumentality of the pen, and from this distant land, fills me with a thousand tender recollections. The endeared family altars, around which many of us have oftentimes bowed—the social meetings in which we oftentimes plead for each other, and a dying world—the sacred sanctuary, where under faithful truth, our hearts mutually bled for the impenitent, sympathized with the convicted, and rejoiced with those anticipating the joys of heaven—and more than all, that solemn hour when your trembling and unworthy servant was set apart to the responsible duties of the minister, and missionary of the cross—all these scenes rush again into my memory, and fill me with emotions of mingled sorrow and joy—joy that the recollection of all the past hours spent among you, does not rend me with bitterest self-condemnation—sorrow from the strong probability, that a recurrence of similar seasons shall never again be our mutual happiness.

But be that as it may, the will of the Lord shall be done, and what more should we desire? It were needless almost to state, that our departure from you was attended with deep conflict. Had no firmer cords bound us to you than those created by the strongly marked affection manifested the few last weeks of our stay among you, our long farewell must have been like the cutting off of a right hand; but the numerous additional considerations which united us to you and our native land, we need not mention.—But after leaving you, the kindness of those hitherto strangers supplied the place of dear relatives and beloved acquaintances, to a degree we had not anticipated.

Our voyage across the deep, commencing on the 6th of November, was to us unexpectedly pleasant. Very trifling sea sickness, which was so distressing to many of our company, fell to our lot. During a period of eight weeks, (one or two more than are generally required to reach Africa,) scarce any thing except goodness and mercy from the Lord was experienced. Captain Knapp and his crew treated us with the greatest respect and kindness, and though not pious, the Captain cheerfully granted us the privilege of morning and evening worship on deck, one evening each week for social prayer, and the opportunity of the public worship twice on the Sabbath. These things, together with the kind Providence which threw into company with us a family so interesting and agreeable as were our Methodist brethren and sisters, could not but make us feel and sing like David, "The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want." During these seasons, nothing was more natural or pleasing than for our imaginations to carry us in all the bonds of Christian affection into your social meetings, there to experience more strongly than ever, that

"Blest is the tie that binds  
Our hearts in Christian love."

Free from storm or tempest, we were borne on safely until the last day of December; when the sight of land once more relieved our eyes from the monotonous scenery of the wide spread ocean. As the distant cape of Monrovia hove in sight, the idea of renewed and increasing responsibilities, added to the trials and dangers we must soon encounter, cast a momentary gloom over the mind, but our nearer approach to the most beautiful scenery of spring, dispersed the clouds, cheered our hearts, and made us anxious to land and wear out our lives in efforts to bring the withered and sun-blighted morality of this land to harmonize with its *natural loveliness*.

We need scarcely inform you, that the citizens of Monrovia received and treated us with the greatest kindness, and until we could get a house rented and fitted so as to be comfortable, provided us with every accommodation our circumstances required. In the mean time, to a degree even surprising to ourselves, our former prejudices concerning eating, drinking, and living with colored people, all seemed to vanish.

Our first interview with the natives was a considerable time before we landed. Several of their canoes came to us to find out who we were; and to bring us the news respecting the colony. The sight of these children of nature unmodified in appearance by any thing save a handkerchief around the loins, shocked our feelings considerably, especially those of our female friends; but it is astonishing how soon *all* became reconciled, and were cheerfully disposed to labor among them where duty might call.

In consequence of indispensable business for some time after our arrival and sickness since, we have not been able to visit any of the prospective mission stations, therefore our personal knowledge of the natives is mostly limited to those who trade among us, and labor for us. The country surrounding the colony belongs to the Deys, but it is supposed there are quite as many natives here, especially boys, from the neighbouring country, Bassa, as there are of the Deys. Both of these people frequently call upon us with rice, coffee, vegetables, and fruits, which they wish to trade for cloth, handkerchiefs, penknives, beads, &c. Though they seem very ignorant, they know enough about self-interest, whenever a good opportunity offers, to take the advantage of the "new men," (the name they give us.) The natives of whom we gained the most knowledge, however, belong to a tribe called the *Kroomen*. Their country lies about 180 miles south-east of this, but they are found in small groups of huts, all along this coast above us, north-west, as far as Sierra Leone. Their principal

object seems to be to gain ready access to ships, as they are a laborious, active people, and are consequently the only persons employed in lading or unlading vessels. Hence also they are very expert watermen; and quite shrewd in trading. They are also employed by the colonists here to do all kinds of work, done by horses and wagons in America. They transport every kind of material, even the stone used for building, on their *heads*. In such cases, however, they have a small cushion of *straw, grass, or cloth*.—They are very straight and well proportioned, with feet and hands as delicate as any white men; and their features are in many cases far more delicate than those of colored people in America. Judging from several boys we have had in our service, as well as the experience of teachers in this place, they will learn as fast as any people. Their prejudices, however, for their own peculiar habits and practices are almost invincible.

If we attempt to convince them of wrong (for example) in drinking rum, from *our not drinking*, they will reply, "That be Merican man fash,"—"me no be Merican man." This they carry so far that they will almost rather want than eat the victuals *we cook*. "That be whiteman's fash," is still the reply.

Those grown up have with few exceptions, some crude knowledge about God. Whether they owe it to intercourse with foreigners we cannot say; but the younger boys seem to have scarcely an idea about God, or the immortal soul. Their only god and saviour is generally carried around the neck by the name of "Greegrees." These in shape and mechanism are of great variety. I will endeavour to describe the only one I have carefully examined.

The main part was the skin of a "Bush cat," about 18 inches in length, nearly the colour of a red fox, and nicely folded up in a roll. To the neck of this skin was suspended first a very small cloth bag filled with something, the virtue of which is "to raise the wind." Second, a wooden pipe "to calm the wind," about five inches in length, hollow, about an inch in diameter at the large end, and running to a point at the other.—Third, a smaller *horn* pipe "to keep the canoe from sinking" precisely the same in shape. Fourth, a small cord tied round the root of the tail, by biting off which "the sharks were to be kept off." And fifth the skin itself was to preserve the wearer from *being caught by the white man*.

Such, my dear friends, are the gods of the degraded pagans to whom you have sent us, and which they in their "blindness" reverence to such a degree, that they scarcely ever are seen without them around their necks, or are willing to part with them for any money. Whilst we, by the grace of God, are enabled to rejoice that we have come to this people, can it be that you will ever sorrow that you have sent us? Surely not? The idea of 3,000,000, of our fellow sinners, going down to the grave annually with no Saviour but the "Greegree," must cause your past efforts, though in one sense praise-worthy, to sink into insignificance and induce you to make continued and greater efforts, to send and sustain the knowledge of the true Saviour in this heathen land.

The expense of this mission for the first few years at least will most probably be much greater than was anticipated.

We are happy to date this letter after having all recovered from our first attack of the fever. Mr. Temple was first taken about the fourteenth day after landing; myself on the eighteenth. Mr. Cloud on the twenty-first, and Mrs. Laird not until the fourth of February. My fever was preceded by a protracted chill, not harder than is often experienced in the ague of America, nor was the fever more severe for several days. It is worse every other day and generally grows higher until the 9th or 10th, when if

good attendance and good medical aid have been enjoyed, it gradually subsides. We have every reason to be grateful to the Lord for the instrumental aid with which he provided us at this trying period. Our Physician, Dr. Todsen, proved himself most assiduous in attention, and skilful in treating the fever during our illness. Had this not been the case, we fear the consequences would have been very serious, at least with some of the other brethren, who were much more severely attacked than myself. Mrs. L. was most mercifully spared to minister to our wants until I was able to be up, and her attack was neither so severe nor so long continued as that of the rest of the family. From our own brief experience, we are inclined to think that with the treatment we have had, *very little* danger need be apprehended by one having a good constitution and equal temperament. But destitute of good accommodations and medical aid, not one in five, humanly speaking, can survive. Up to this date, the 25th February, the last emigration of fifty-four persons, have all survived the fever except two. One of these an old lady of about seventy years, who would take no medicine; the other a little girl of delicate health. Concerning the death of our dear friend, Mrs. Wright, we will not stop here to remark, further than to express the opinion, that there is nothing in her case to deter other female friends of firmer constitution to attempt the ennobling work of enlightening Africa, whilst there is much in the cases of the other females of both mission families to strengthen the idea "that females endure this climate best."

Since this is not to be the resting place of any of us (a subject of *great regret* among the citizens,) we hope that some beloved brother from our native land will soon volunteer to come and raise up Missionaries on the very ground where the cry for their assistance is so loud and heart-rending. The morals of this place are quite as good as that of any other mixed community. The heat of this climate has been to us far less intolerable than we anticipated. Although the sun's rays are so penetrating that we dare not go out between the hours of nine and four without an umbrella, yet when in the house or shade we are generally comfortable in consequence of the fine sea breeze. The thermometer in our house has ranged between 75 deg. and 80 deg. since we came. We might proceed, dear friends, to give you a brief history of the natural productions of this land, which, through the kindness of providence, minister to our comfort, such as rice cassada, plantain, sweet potatoes, and fruits; such as oranges, limes, pine apples, soursaps, guavers, all of which we generally relish well. Also, we would gladly remark something concerning the small tho' beautiful horned cattle in the colony, the sheep without wool, the goats, swine, &c., but those for the present must be dismissed, as this letter has already swelled far beyond its intended limits.

And now, beloved brethren and sisters, with what shall we close? By saying we are unhappy? No! Though we are cast off from *many* of your advantages and comforts, and expect always to be whilst pilgrims here, and are subject to many ills from which you are exempted, still we are far from being able to say with the Apostle, "We have suffered the loss of all things for Christ." O, no! we are surrounded by many of the tender mercies of the Lord, and feel, we trust, more than ever disposed to say, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." Moreover, we have not entirely suffered the loss of yourselves. We cannot dress ourselves without discovering many of the pledges of your affectionate regard; we cannot recline upon our pillows without finding ourselves comforted with the fruits of your kind labors. Nor do we ever bow around the family altar or enjoy the privileges of the sacred sanctuary, without feeling revived by the cheering hope,

that you, our beloved friends, are striving together with us in your prayers to God for us. And now, whilst in all the compassion of Christian sympathy, we would once more beseech those who neither pray for us nor themselves, "to be reconciled to God," we also entreat you, our Christian friends, to let your conversation be as becometh the Gospel of Christ, that whether we come and see you, or else be absent, we may hear of your affairs, how that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel. Then we shall be sure you will not cease to compassionate the poor heathen, who have no Gospel, nor will you fail to hold up the hands of your unworthy representatives as they labour to dispel the spiritual midnight that broods over this vast continent. Our united and sincere regard to you all, in Christian love till death. Again we say, *farewell, farewell.*

MATTHEW LAIRD.

*From the Philadelphian, May 1st.*

*Extracts of a letter addressed to the President of the Ladies' Association Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, by Rev. J. B. Pinney, Colonial Agent, March 7th, 1834.*

MADAM:—Suffer the momentary interview which I had the honour to enjoy at a meeting of your Ladies' Association, during my late visit to America, to be an apology for this letter, though it be little more than one of complaint.

\* \* \* \* \* May God repay you an hundred fold for your deeds of love towards these poor children. In their name, I would thank you a thousand times, and all the ladies who are associated with you in this good work.

It will rejoice your heart to hear, that all the schools supported by you, are well conducted and prosperous. Mrs. Carsan's school, at Caldwell, I have been greatly delighted with. The children make rapid progress, and the inhabitants are becoming jealous lest the girls should all outstrip the boys, and become the best scholars. Mr. Eden, at New Georgia, is making some progress; much impeded, however, for want of a suitable room for conducting his school.

I regret to add; that we are about to lose the services of Mrs. Thomson, whose school is very large and flourishing, indeed too large.\*

Mr. T—— has gone to Palmas and will doubtless soon send for Mrs. T——. Do search Philadelphia, and send us two or three well qualified teachers; we cannot proceed in the instruction of the elder and more advanced scholars without them.

\* The first girls' school, located at Monrovia. The present condition of the school is thus described by the teacher herself: "The number continues quite large, entirely too large for one teacher. Justice is not done to either class. I attempted to teach sewing, but was obliged to give that up. Although the school is so crowded, the people do not think but that all their children can come."

#### NEW GEORGIA, LIBERIA.

*[From the Philadelphian, May 8.]*

A few days since, Mr. John Hanson, merchant of this city, favoured us with a letter to himself, from Rev. James Eden, dated at New Georgia, in Liberia, in which he represents himself as pastor of a Presbyterian Church near that place.

His congregation, he says, is small, and for want of some better place regularly convenes in a place "where not only the public tribunal is held, but where the natives and strayed goats take up their lodging at nights; so that it is impossible to keep it clean." He solicits Mr. Hanson, therefore, as having been frequently present in their religious assemblies, and having been an eye witness of their necessities, to procure for them aid if practicable in America. Particularly he solicits some cups and plates to be employed in celebrating the Lord's supper. He does not expect, he

says, that they should be *gold or silver*; but he and his people will be thankful to receive just such a set as any one may please to give.

The Sabbath school, he says, in connexion with his church, is in a very flourishing condition; but greatly in want of some spelling-books for the children, which are not to be found at the Colony. He wishes particularly that Mrs. Beaula Sansom, President of the Ladies' Society, Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, may know, that the children of the recaptured Africans at New Georgia are almost without books, and that shortly there will be no supply for them, unless they are sent from America.

#### DEATH OF F. DEVANY, ESQ.

By a late arrival we have received a file of the *Liberia Herald*, from which we learn, with regret, the decease of Francis Devany, Esq. on the 11th of September. He was a colored man—originally a slave, belonging to Langdon Cheves, Esq. of Charleston, South Carolina, and emigrated to Liberia at an early period of its settlement. For many years past he has been engaged in commerce, and had accumulated a handsome fortune by his industry, perseverance and enterprise, when his earthly career was ended in the thirty-sixth year of his age. His disorder was consumption, and Liberia will have occasion to regret in him, the loss of one of its most valuable citizens. He held, for some time, the office of High Sheriff of the Colony, and in the various relations of life, sustained and deserved the reputation of an honest man. When in this country, a few years ago, he bore evidence, before a committee of the Congress of the United States, to the favorable prospects afforded to emigrants by the Liberia settlement.

[*New York Daily Advertiser.*]

#### LIBERIA.

[*From the New York Commercial Advocate, May 7.*]

We have recently received several letters from friends in Western Africa, some extracts from which have been published. On a re-perusal, one remark struck us as worthy of public notice. The writer, after having been six weeks at Monrovia, says—"I have not seen a person, in the least intoxicated since my arrival." The Methodist Episcopal Missionaries have formed a "Conference" at Monrovia, called the Liberia Annual Conference, and at their first meeting fourteen members attended. After getting through with their church business, they formed a Society, called the "Conference Temperance Society;" thereby showing a determination to set a good example to the flock over which they are placed. The inhabitants have experienced great inconvenience from the scarcity of lumber, suitable for building—this, we are pleased to find, will soon be obviated by the erection of a saw mill. Perhaps as great an evil, as any, that prevails in this new African Colony, is a strong propensity to extravagance in living and dress.

#### THE RECAPTURED AFRICANS.

[*From the Philadelphia, May 8.*]

Mr. Brown, lately returned from Liberia, has informed us that a large number of the recaptured Africans settled at New Georgia, have intermarried with the female emigrants from the United States; and that in this way civilization is extending a little into the interior of the country. Their wives introduce something of domestic industry and comfort, while their husbands cultivate the earth, and are the market people who in a measure supply Monrovia. Through these connections the desire of being modest,

ly clothed is beginning to be extensively spread; in this way preparation is made for civilization and commerce, especially in cotton fabrics. The Colony has hitherto done but little in the line of extending Christianity in Africa; but much for the introduction of trade and the arts of civilized life. In this way something of an opening has been made for the future introduction of the Gospel into that world of coloured people.

### INTELLIGENCE.

*Extracts from the proceedings of the Board of Managers; May 8, 1834.*

*Resolved*, That as the additional accounts and vouchers for the various drafts from the Colony during the last year have been lately received, the Committee appointed on the subject of Mr. Breckenridge's Resolution, adopted at the last Annual Meeting, and who reported in part on the 20th of February, be instructed to prepare a report as early as practicable, on the other matters called for by said Resolution.

#### COLONIZATION MEETING.

[From the *New York Spectator*, May 8.]

Pursuant to arrangement, a meeting of the Colonization Society of the city of New York, was held yesterday afternoon, at the Chatham st. Chapel. At the appointed hour, the spacious area and galleries were filled to overflowing. The meeting was called to order by William L. Stone, who nominated, in the absence of President Duer, Dr. James Milnor, one of the Vice Presidents of the Society, to the chair. The nomination was confirmed, and Dr. John Stearns, appointed Secretary. After an appropriate prayer by Dr. De Witt, the meeting was addressed by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, Secretary of the American Colonization Society. The subject upon which the meeting was assembled, was one, he said, of grave and solemn interest to this nation; and after what had taken place yesterday, he felt that he would be glad to speak two or three hours upon it, and then leave it unexhausted. But as others were to follow, he would endeavor to be brief.

Any person who would refer to the history of this Institution, and will judge of it with candor, must be convinced that it was founded in

philanthropy, and has been cherished with no other sentiments than those of the most pure and exalted benevolence.

The grand object was to plant upon the coast of Africa, a Christian Colony of colored persons who might *voluntarily* emigrate thither. This purpose early avowed, has never been departed from. And was there any thing objectionable in this? No man had been *compelled* to go there—and a fundamental principle of the Colony was *freedom of the will*. The Society has already found 3,000 persons, animated by this spirit of freedom, and who have embarked for Liberia. He would admit that evils and discouragements have existed there, and that some existed still; but whatever they were, they were fewer and less formidable than those that were presented at the settlement of Jamestown or Plymouth, by our ancestors. Letters had also been recently received that the depression that had existed was passing away, and measures for the reform and prevention of the evils complained of had been promptly taken. It was due, he said, to state of the Board of Managers at Washington, that no body of men could be found more sincerely intent to establish a nation on the coast of Africa upon Christian principles. They are men willing to be taught by experience, and every subject presented to them in relation to the interests of the Society, has received deep and earnest consideration.

Mr. G. was aware that this subject was necessarily connected with the slave question; and it involves the welfare of three million blacks, and

of more than half of the Union. He had been astonished when he had seen with what ruthlessness men, who had never examined the subject, or been upon the spot, undertook to propound doctrines which threaten the destruction of this great confederacy. He had heard it yesterday declared, that the slaveholder was worse than the original kidnapper. He would admit that those who hold slaves now, *on the principle* of those who kidnapped them at first, are equally guilty. But the whole condition of the case is altered. A vast majority of present slaveholders act in this matter involuntarily. It is a burthen cast upon them—an unblest inheritance that has fallen upon them. Much had been said upon the point that the Colonization Society had been founded on a cherished prejudice against the colored people. This, to say the least of it, was erroneous. It was founded on the belief that, by changing their location, the disadvantages under which they labor here might be removed. Burke saw the increased energy of character which had been infused into the Americans by a departure from their native land, and predicted the results that followed. The same change of place may elevate the blacks, if we can transfer them to a country where they may be the builders of their own fortunes, and bring out the native energies of their character. It had been objected that it was impracticable to construct permanent institutions upon the African coast, out of such materials as were sent thither. But if the African character could be sufficiently elevated here, for participation in civil government, can it not there? But it was not the purpose of the Colonization Society to set down the emigrants upon the African coasts forlorn and abandoned; but to educate them and fit them for a higher destiny. Mr. G. adverted to several other positions assumed by the opposers of the Colonization Society, which he successfully exposed and refuted.

The Rev. Mr. Jackson next rose and submitted the following resolution:—

*Resolved*, That this meeting invite the Clergy of all denominations throughout this State, to enforce the claims of this Society from their pulpits on the Fourth of July, or some Sabbath near to it, annually, and to take up collections in their congregations in aid of the cause of African Colonization.

The occasion, he said, led him to recall some of the most pleasing recollections of by-gone days. He remembered well the time the first sail was unfurled for this enterprise, and that when Burgess and Mills walked down to the wharf, they were accompanied by a single individual—but 'a little one has become a thousand, and a strong one a great nation.' The results have surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine; and we have the most cheering prospect that the enterprise will go on until that land, like our own, will become the 'land of the free and the home of the brave.' The Society had passed through evil report, and through good report. It had been opposed by interests diametrically antagonist, and with arguments as conflicting as those interests.

On the one hand, it was said, that it was a device to rivet more securely the shackles of the slave—on the other, that it was an insidious project for the abolition of slavery. But it had preserved a happy medium between extremes, and it had generally been found that truth lies there, as well in theology as in politics.—If it was contended that the Society was beset with difficulties, he would admit it. But difficulties in a good cause were not to be yielded to, but to be surmounted,—and whilst this Society had a hand for relief as tender as the down of innocence, it was shod with brass to spurn at difficulties. Although their path was not strewn with flowers, every difficulty would vanish before the wand of perseverance. It was an enterprise for the benefit of two continents, and calculated to bless countless millions with the triumphant emblems of the plough, the cap of liberty, and the

cross. It promised emancipation to the whole African race from the thralldom of ignorance, despotism, and degradation. The consequences already attained were most auspicious.

In Africa, the number of slave factories had been greatly diminished, and in our own country, within the last sixteen years, the rights of the colored people had been more correctly appreciated, and their condition greatly improved. It was impossible to deny that in producing this result, the Colonization Society had a prominent agency. Why then seek to injure us? Is the array of battle to be encountered because the good we have done is less than we could have wished? Let us at least go on undisturbed in our achievements, at least until something more than a shadow is offered in lieu of a substance. If we are to rely on some great moral impulse to achieve the liberation of the blacks, are all other means in the mean time to be laid aside? Suppose a Society were to be formed in Russia for the relief of the sufferings of the Poles—should its operations be suspended until a great moral impulse can be excited to effect their universal emancipation? Let those who oppose this undertaking beware, lest haply they find at last that they have been fighting against God. Mr. J. made many eloquent and pertinent remarks which we have not time nor room to insert. The resolution he offered was passed.

A. H. Twining, Esq. of New-Haven, then submitted the following resolution:—

*Resolved*, That powerful motives are presented, in the progress and success of the American Colonization Society, to every man who would aid the establishment of Christian Colonies of free men of colour, who may choose to emigrate, on the African coast, for more vigorous and extended effort.

He enforced the propriety of the resolution by many apposite remarks, which our limits will not enable us to record. He dwelt at considerable length upon the beneficial moral influences which the Society had ex-

erted in bettering the condition, and brightening the prospects of the slave, and preparing the mind of the master for early emancipation. He alluded particularly to the free and open discussion of the slave question in Virginia—to the progress made in Kentucky—and to the efforts and appropriations made by the Legislature of Maryland for the avowed purpose of making that a free State.—These results had been produced by the fact, that the Society had inspired hope by showing a channel thro' which slavery might be ultimately abolished with safety, and this had diminished the fear which had shut their eyes to conviction, and their hands from effort. The question was put upon the resolution, and it was adopted.

The Rev. John Breckenridge offered the following resolution:—

*Resolved*, That a true regard to the best interests of the people of colour in this country, and to the present and future good of the population of Africa, urges the members of this Society to renewed and more enlarged measures to found Christian States upon the African coast, which shall show the value and power of Education, Liberty, and our holy Religion.

He said it was a mistaken view of the subject, that the friends and enemies of Colonization were divided into the friends and enemies of slavery. It was true that the action of the Society upon slavery was indirect; and abolition, in any other than the slave holding States, whether immediate or progressive, could legally assume no other form. It was a known and conceded fact, whether right or wrong, good or bad, this Union was formed upon the basis that to the state sovereignties, and to them alone, the whole subject of slave regulation was reserved. Congress has no right to intermeddle—and there is no alternative between the dissolution of the Union, and the concession to the States of those powers which the Constitution left in their hands. If we wish to effect emancipation, and help the colored man, we must do so by individual influence, or through the instrumentality of the

States. The question then arises, has it not a tendency to retard the progress of the State governments, to make an outward pressure upon them? Will it not in its consequences re-act upon the slave? Slavery was devolved upon us by Great Britain. They were left here in such numbers that a regard for personal safety has induced the respective legislatures to enact laws prohibiting emancipation, except upon the condition that the freed man be removed. To violate these laws is not only to incur a penalty, but if the black man is not removed, he is sold again into slavery. The question then is, is it better for them to emigrate abroad as freemen, or to remain in slavery at home? If by preventing their emigration abroad they are retained at home, who keeps them there?—on whom rests the responsibility? The Colonization Society has taken the alternative that it is better they should be free abroad—the Abolitionists, that it is better to keep them in slavery at home.—Let each one decide for himself on which side the guilt or preference lies. I personally know, said Mr. B., the masters of thousands of slaves who would gladly emancipate them if they could—but their poverty precludes them from sending them away, and the laws do not allow them to remain free at home. Fifty thousand per annum might be emancipated, if the means could be found to convey them abroad. These are facts which, right or wrong in themselves, must be taken into the account, when testing the question of Colonization. In regard to the influence of Colonization on the slave's interests, his freedom had been advanced by the action of the Society. He regretted to find, yesterday, a youth from Kentucky, drawing his virgin blade to plunge it in the honor of his native State. He seemed like a fugitive from the ruins of Troy, recounting the perils he had escaped

—quæque ipse misserrime vidi  
Et quorum pars magna fui.

The South and West he described as a Sodom, which it was his duty

publicly to denounce. He was satisfied that the young gentleman's observations must have been extremely limited, or he would never have ventured upon such representations.—He also asserted that no paper had dared to advocate the doctrine of emancipation in the valley of the Mississippi. This he could refute in his own person. So long ago as 1824, he had edited a religious paper in the city of Lexington, in which he strenuously advocated emancipation, by the practice upon which doctrine he had made himself poor by emancipating all the slaves that had fallen to his inheritance. He had also lectured constantly on that subject, both in Lexington and Baltimore, for a long period and without molestation. The gentleman does not know the state of Kentucky—(here the speaker was interrupted by hisses from some Abolitionists in the upper gallery, which caused deafening plaudits from the respectable parts of the audience.)

I am a Kentuckian, continued Mr. B. My father fought against the Indians, and I am not to be frightened by hisses—for among the earliest lessons taught me by my mother was, next to the fear of God—not to fear the face of man. Mr. B. continued the discussion for some time in the most happy vein, and among other remarks, alluded to the fact, that the first founder of African Colonization was Granville Sharp, at Sierra Leone. He was supported by William Wilberforce, who at the close of life the Abolitionists had attempted to press into their service. But he too was a strenuous advocate of Colonization.

The resolution was adopted.

The Rev. Mr. Bethune, of Utica, next rose and submitted the following resolution:—

*Resolved,* That this meeting regards the moral influence of the scheme of African Colonization, in promoting the voluntary and peaceful abolition of slavery, as among its chief advantages, and such as should commend it to the vigorous and persevering support of all the friends of the colored race.

After his arrival in town, he said,

where he expected to meet a friend whom he had known for several years, and whom he was anxious to meet again, he was informed, to his great grief and consternation, that he was dead and buried—for that the funeral obsequies of the American Colonization Society were attended yesterday. But when I behold this numerous audience, it seems as if there had been a resurrection—for it is a collection of the most beautiful corpses I ever saw. They remind me of two lines of the poet:—

On the cold cheek of death smiles and roses are blending,

And beauty immortal awakes from the tomb.

Nor can I forget an anecdote that I heard in my boyhood, that may well apply to the premature interment by the reverend pastor of the Spring street church yesterday. An old lady took it into her head that her husband was about to die, and proceeded to the undertakers to procure the necessary apparatus for the burial—accordingly, says the couplet:—

Forth went the good lady to buy him a coffin,

And when she came back, she found him a-laughing.

After some further observations, facetious and otherwise, Mr. B. proceeded to remark upon the attitude assumed by the Abolitionists hostile to the Colonization Society. We would not depart, he said, from the present system until they could show a better. They offer no plan by which to break the fetters of the slave. They talk much, and do nothing. They declaim loudly against the enormity of slavery—but too far off for their voice to be heard. Their declamation is all in the non-slaveholding States. But is this the way to produce a salutary effect in the South?

If you wish to convert England, would you preach to them in Scotland? When Paul sought to convert the Romans, he did not remain in Judea, but he went to Rome—and why should not our Abolitionists follow the example? Persecu-

tion has ever been regarded as the seed of the church—and why do they not go South of the Potomac—sow the same seed—and watch for its fruits? It is not by extraneous effort that emancipation can ever be effected. We well know how the subject of slavery stands under the Constitution, and that it requires the concurrence of two-thirds of the States to alter or amend it.

If the whole North, therefore, were to unite to a man, in an attempt to alter the provisions of the Constitution on this subject, they could not effect it. Mr. B. dwelt at some length on the recklessness of those who were ready to jeopardize the Union, and that, too, for the accomplishment of an object that was utterly impracticable.

It took Granville Sharp and Wilberforce, and their philanthropic associates, forty years to accomplish, in the West Indies, what an Abolition print in this city has denominated the 'Triumph of Gradualism.'—What hopes then are here, on their own principles, where no power can be exerted?

Mr. Bethune then proceeded to speak of his own satisfaction in preaching formerly among the slaves of the South, and of the great and glorious efforts now making among men of the highest character in the remote South, to instruct the slaves in all the doctrines and duties of Christianity. He named the Rev. C. C. Jones of Georgia, as having under his pastoral care more than six thousand slaves. In all its relations, he deemed the Colonization Society worthy of the vigorous support of all the friends of the colored race.

The Rev. Mr. Plummer touched upon the causes which operated to create jealousies and dissensions between the South and the North.—They did not know each other, or these jealousies and dissensions could not exist. These causes were diversity of interests, geographical distinctions, the fact that bad specimens of northern character were exhibited at the South, and bad specimens c

southern character at the North. He insisted we were brethren, and should feel as brethren. On the subject of slavery, the South could not permit others than themselves to interfere. The good people of the South were anxiously and prayerfully engaged in improving the condition and raising the character of the people of colour. But they must look to the general safety and peace. Even a civil war would be better than a servile one. He rejoiced in the firm belief that the influence of the Colonization Society allayed sectional jealousies and cemented the Union.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

#### INTERESTING MISSIONARY MEETING.

On the evening of the 28th of April, the *Youth's Missionary Society of the Eleventh Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia*, held their first anniversary meeting. Seldom have we witnessed a public meeting of the kind which more deeply interested all present.

The children and youth present cannot have been fewer than three hundred; who occupied chiefly the central part of the church edifice. The singing was principally confined to them; and this part of worship they performed with spirit, harmony, and solemnity. After the reading of the report, the audience was addressed by the Editor, Rev. John L. Grant, the pastor of the church, and the Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, lately returned from an exploring mission to Africa.

Mr. Wilson stated the remarkable fact that he found in the Northern part of Liberia some natives who had invented very lately, written syllabic characters, in which he proved they could write and read their own language, with very little instruction from the inventors of the signs employed. In this invention, as among the Cherokees, Providence has, in a wonderful manner, pre-

pared the way for the gospel to have free course among the people.

He stated also, that when he was about to land near Cape Palmas, as many as three hundred children ran along the bank, and through the groves, as the vessel passed; and gave them a hearty welcome. He found their parents exceedingly anxious to have them taught; and in different villages he could with difficulty get away without giving the people, what they called "a book," some writing, "to show that he had promised to send them a teacher." Mr. W. contrasted the circumstances of the children before him with those of the children whom he had lately seen in Africa; and endeavored thereby to excite in them gratitude to God, and a love for foreign missions.

The interesting report of this youthful Society, we expect to publish at another time.—*Philadelphia.*

#### THE NIGER EXPEDITION.

Accounts of this expedition, up to the 5th of January, have been received. At that date, Lander was on board the Curlew ship of war, on his way to Cape Coast Castle for the purpose of procuring a particular species of goods for the markets in the interior, of which he had not previously taken a sufficient supply. If successful in this object, it was his intention to return to the mouth of the Nun: thence to re-ascend the Niger for the third time, and endeavor to penetrate as far up the river as Bousa. Previous to his last return to the coast, Lander and Lt. Allen had fortunately reached Rabbah, or Rabba, (a large Ralatah town,) in the iron steam boat; and, for the space of thirteen or fourteen days, had maintained a friendly intercourse, and carried on an advantageous trade, with its inhabitants. The depth of the water at that place was between two and three fathoms, and as far as could be seen beyond it, the Niger was free from rocks and other obstructions, and assumed a majestic and very encouraging appearance.— This important town is inhabited by Felatahs and negroes, and realizes the expectations that have been formed of it, as regards its extent, its wealth, and its population.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS

*To the Am. Col. Society, in the month of April, 1834.*

*Gerrit Smith's first plan of subscription.*

A few gentlemen near Oakhill, Fauquier county, Va.,	\$100
A friend in Virginia,	100
William Crane, Richmond,	100

#### *Collections from Churches.*

Chambersburg, Pa. Methodist Congregation, by Rev. Tobias Riley,	4
Monroe School-house, by Rev. D. Parker, Clermont county, Ohio,	5 61
Newville do by do	7 89
Thomas Collard's subscription to African Repository, by do,	2

#### *Auxiliary Societies.*

Amherst, Massachusetts, by Hon. George Grennell,	50
Rockbridge, Female Society, by Mrs. Edmonia M. Preston,	46
Do for African Repository, from do,	4

#### *Donation.*

Newton (Sussex county, N. J.) Library Company, by Thos. G. Rogerson,	24
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THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND  
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. X.]

JUNE, 1834.

[No. 4.]

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE COLONIAL AGENT.

WHEN the Rev. JOHN B. PINNEY was appointed temporary Agent for the Colony at Liberia, the Board of Managers expected to make, very soon afterwards, a permanent appointment, and therefore particularly called Mr. PINNEY's attention to a few immediate subjects only. They hoped also to receive much aid in preparing suitable instructions, from the report which Mr. PINNEY would make, after arriving at the Colony, of the state of things there. In this hope, they have not been disappointed. After receiving Mr. PINNEY's letter, which was published in our April number, the Board elected that gentleman permanent Agent for the Colony; and by their order, the subjoined communications, which accompanied the transmittal of his commission, is now published.

OFFICE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, }  
WASHINGTON, MAY 15, 1834. }

Rev. JOHN B. PINNEY,  
Colonial Agent, &c.

*Rev. and Dear Sir:*—In the absence of the Secretary, who has been for some weeks in the State of New York on business of the Society, I acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him under date of March 7. At the first meeting of the Board of Managers, after the arrival of this letter, it was submitted to them, and was received with lively satisfaction. I am instructed to communicate to you the following copies of three Resolutions adopted by the Board on the occasion referred to:—

"1. *Resolved*, That the Rev. JOHN B. PINNEY be appointed the Agent of the American Colony at Liberia.

"2. *Resolved*, That a representation be made by this Board to the Board of Managers of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, stating to them that this Board have not succeeded in obtaining a suitable Agent for their Colony at Liberia, and that this Board earnestly request the permission of the Managers of said Missionary Society, that the Rev. JOHN B. PINNEY be authorized to accept the appointment of Colonial Agent of the American Colonization Society.

"3. *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to wait upon the Secretary of the Navy, and submit to his perusal the entire despatches this day received from the Colony of Liberia, and that the Committee respectfully request the Secretary that he appoint as the Government Agent, the Rev. JOHN B. PINNEY, the present Agent of the Society, for the time which he has acted, or may act, as Agent for this Society."

The proper means for effecting the purposes of the second and third of the foregoing resolutions, were promptly adopted. From the Managers of

the Western Foreign Missionary Society, no definitive answer has as yet been received; but it is hoped that one favourable to our wishes will arrive before this despatch shall have been closed. Herewith is transmitted a letter [marked A] from the Secretary of the Navy, appointing you the Agent of the Government at Liberia; but, for reasons stated in that communication, reducing your compensation from the United States to the sum of five hundred dollars. Those reasons being temporary in their nature, it is not improbable that a state of things may again exist, inducing the Government to restore the former salary paid by it: and therefore, and on account of the present pressure on the Colonization treasury, the Board have not made any specific arrangement to indemnify you for this unexpected diminution of the emoluments enjoyed by your predecessors. They will, however, be prepared at any time to do this, to whatever extent your interests may require, and their own ability may permit. Your compensation, meanwhile, from the Society, in addition to that from the United States, will be, as heretofore, eight hundred dollars a year, and your household expenses, from the period of your appointment as temporary Agent, until the first day of the present month; and from and after the last mentioned date, fourteen hundred dollars a year.

In the hope that you may determine to accept the offer of the Board, I herewith forward your Commission [marked B] as Agent of the American Colonization Society, resident in Liberia. In the expected contingency of a favourable response from the Board of Managers of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, the gratification of the wish of the Colonization Board will depend on your own consent. This, we trust, will not be withheld.—The administration of Colonial affairs is proposed to be confided to you, under a deep conviction felt by our Board, that such a proceeding is better calculated than any other within their election, to advance the welfare of the Colony, and those high interests, religious and social, which are closely, though collaterally, connected with the scheme of which they are the organ. It is not doubted that you justly estimate the weighty considerations inviting you to the path of usefulness now indicated.

The general duties of Colonial Agent may be inferred from the "Constitution for the Government of the African Colony at Liberia," and "the Plan of Civil Government for the Colony of Liberia" contained in page 21-26 of the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Society, in the appendix to that Report, which is herewith transmitted to you. The fourth resolution of the Board, adopted on the 30th of January, 1834, and there published, has been since, in order to avoid the possibility of misconstruction, amended so as to read thus:—

"4. Resolved, That from and after the first day of August next, the Colonial Agent, Physician, Assistant Physician, Colonial Secretary, and Storekeeper, only, shall derive support from the Society; that such support shall consist exclusively of the salaries hereinafter mentioned; and such officers as the Colonial Council may deem necessary, shall be paid out of the funds raised in the Colony; and that from and after the first day of May next, the following salaries be allowed the said officers respectively, in full compensation for their services—that is to say,

"For the Agent, in addition to the amount allowed by the Government of the United States,	\$1400
For the Physician, . . . . .	1600
For the Colonial Secretary, . . . . .	600
For the Storekeeper, . . . . .	400."

The powers vested in the Colonial Agent are necessarily large, and though they may be occasionally abridged, as the Colony approximates to a capacity for self-government, will probably remain considerable during the continuance of its present relations to the Society. The confidence felt by the Board in your firmness and discretion, makes unnecessary any special suggestions to you, in this communication, as to the manner of exercising those powers.

The encouragement of agriculture at Liberia has been regarded by every Board of Managers, since the foundation of the Society, as a most important instrument in accomplishing the great objects of the Institution.—The lamentable neglect of it heretofore, and the failure of the efforts made by the Board to render it popular among the Colonists, have been the source of painful reflection among the best friends of our cause. This state of things is probably ascribable in a great degree to the causes which you assign for it; and to the general cause of a reluctance among emigrants to undergo physical toil in a country where they had indulged the irrational hope of being exempt from this the ordinary lot of man. Concurring in your sentiments on this essential subject, and cordially approving of your measures in relation to it, the Board will always be eager to afford any suitable facilities for the promotion of agriculture at the Colony. They are especially solicitous that you should encourage by all means in your power, the cultivation of coffee.

Your suggestion, that emigrants should hereafter be supported by the Society for twelve, instead of six months as heretofore, has received the deliberate consideration of the Managers. While they perceive much force in your reasons for this change, they are nevertheless not prepared at this time to adopt the suggestion. Though circumstances may often render six months too short a period for the gratuitous subsistence of emigrants, it is believed to be in other cases longer than is necessary; and that in these, habits of indolence are contracted, pernicious to the emigrant, and by the force of example to the Colony at large. The proposed extension would, moreover, double one of the most fruitful sources of expenditure at the Colony: a consideration at all times important, and especially so at our present period of financial exigency. The support of the Colonists for six months, is a circumstance of their condition far more favorable than any to be found in the history of other emigrants. Many settlers on the Western frontier of the United States have repaired to their new abode with no means of subsistence except a few acres of wild land, and their implements of husbandry; and have soon become prosperous. The difference, indeed, between their circumstances and previous habits, and those of the emigrants to Liberia, calls for a provision in the latter case, which in the former might be dispensed with. But due weight is supposed to be given, in the existing arrangement, to this consideration.

I am instructed to say that the Board deem it inexpedient at present to extend the time during which emigrants are supported by the Society, beyond the term of six months; but that you are authorized, in cases which, in your judgment, justify a deviation from the general rule, to extend the term according to the special circumstances of each case. Your suggestion will, however, continue to be a subject of deliberation with the Board.

In connexion with this topic, I am instructed to urge on you the importance of assigning his land to each emigrant promptly on his arrival; and to refer you to the number of the African Repository for March, 1834, p. 26, for a Preamble and Resolutions adopted by the Board on the 20th of February last. The special Report adopted by the Board on the same day, will apprise you, at p. 13–15 of that number, of their views in regard to education, morals and religion, at the Colony. Any specific regulations on these momentous subjects which it may hereafter be deemed advisable to adopt, will be communicated to you; and any suggestions concerning them which observation and reflection may induce you to offer to the Managers, will be acceptable. They are fully impressed with the necessity that a High-school, on liberal principles, should be established at Liberia. Their unpreparedness to act at present on the subject, results partly from pecuniary inability and partly from the causes intimated in the special Report.

In the hope that this essential purpose may soon be accomplished, they would be gratified by your designating a suitable site for the school. You are already apprised of the importance attached by the Board to the formation of Temperance Societies in the Colony, as the most effectual mode of discouraging the use of ardent spirits there, and will of course promote, as far as you can, the establishment and success of such Societies.

On the important subject of Colonial Jurisprudence, the Board have long been aware that much improvement was needed. Their last and most promising effort to effect it, was the appointment of one of their members, a distinguished Jurist, to prepare and report to them a code of laws for the Colony. He has had the advantage, in the execution of this trust, of the detailed information which was given by the Vice-Agent and the High Sheriff of the Colony, during their recent visit to the United States. His labours have not yet been brought to a conclusion. Meanwhile, the Board will be ready to pass any special ordinances, which they can be satisfied will benefit the Colony; and will give the same attentive consideration which they have heretofore afforded to propositions from the Agent or the Colonists, bearing on the subject. On reference had to the amended "plan of civil Government for the Colony of Liberia," noticed in a former part of this communication, it will appear that the old plan has been materially modified, in conformity with the expressed wishes of the Colonists. I return to you, with the official approval of the Managers, the laws passed at the Colony since January 1, 1834, [marked C,] and the port regulations, [marked D.] We have under consideration other Colonial enactments and suggestions; the result of which consideration will be duly made known.—Such of the Resolutions passed at a special meeting of the Colonial Agent, Vice-Agent, Council and Magistrates, on the 18th of April, 1833, as are not embraced in the operation of the Resolutions passed by the Board of Managers on the 30th of January, 1834, will be duly regarded in the preparation of the code of Colonial Jurisprudence, already mentioned. You will be pleased to keep continually in view, and to represent on suitable occasions, to the citizens of Liberia, that it is a primary object of the Society to elevate the moral condition of the Colonists; and as a consequence of this object, to enlarge gradually, according to circumstances, their share in the administration of Colonial affairs, and finally to leave them to self-government, whenever the relation of parental control in which the Society now stands to them can be dissolved with safety to themselves. Should this process seem too slow, the Board rely on the good sense of the Colonists to estimate the considerations, arising from views of duty which circumstances render more extensive and more impartial, that may sometimes oblige them to resist their own inclinations, in delaying to comply with requests from the Colony.

Another general subject of great moment, is the fiscal relation of the Colony to the Society. Of the importance justly attached by the friends of our cause to the proper management of its pecuniary concerns, some idea may be derived from the Special Report before referred to, and from the Resolution, adopted at the last Annual Meeting, which gave rise to that Report. On a full, long protracted, and most anxious view of their duty in this respect, the Board perceive an absolute necessity that their financial affairs should be managed more methodically and clearly than they have heretofore been, both at home and in the Colony.

From the loose manner in which the accounts have been kept at the Colony, it has been found impossible to ascertain with precision in what manner the goods and provisions sent hence were disposed of, or how the heavy debts incurred there were contracted. The Board wish, therefore, to be furnished in future, with more distinct and satisfactory accounts.

You have already very properly sent to this office an inventory of the furniture, &c. in the Colonial House, and of the goods remaining in the Colonial Store. You will be pleased to extend your account, so as to include all the public buildings, and other property belonging to the Society in the Colony. In relation to the goods in the Public Store, the better course would be for you and the Colonial Storekeeper to fix a value on the several articles therein, such as you may concur in believing they will bring when sold. This being done, our Treasurer will charge you in account with the amount, and with the amount of all goods, provisions, &c. which may, from time to time hereafter, be forwarded to the Colony from hence, adding to the prime cost the freight and such a per centage as you may consider proper; so as to enable the Storekeeper to dispose of the several articles at a rate as low as, or lower than, the price at which the merchants of the Colony sell the like goods. Of the amount of this per centage, you will be pleased hereafter to inform the Board. The Treasurer will also charge you with all drafts which you may draw on the Board, and with all money, or currency answering the purpose of money, which may at any time be sent you from hence.

You will, of course, charge the Colonial Storekeeper with the amount of all such goods as are delivered over to him, giving him directions to charge you with all the articles which you may obtain by yourself or your duly authorized Agents for the use of the Colony; taking care to file away all orders on which such goods are delivered, so that you may be able to make particular and satisfactory half yearly reports to the Board. And by taking an account of the stock on hand in the Store at the close of every year, you will enable the Board to ascertain not only what amount has been expended by the Society on each particular object in the Colony, but also what profits have been made on the goods disposed of at the Colonial Store.

Whatever trade may be carried on by means of the Schooner Margaret Mercer, on the coast, will be accounted for in a similar manner. You will furnish the vessel with trading goods from the Colonial Store, charging her with the amount; and giving her credit for whatever articles she may bring to the Colony in return. In this way the Society will know what they gain or lose by this vessel.

If you shall be under the necessity of purchasing goods from vessels visiting your port, or from merchants or traders in the Colony, or from any other source, in order to supply the Store or the necessities of the Colony, you will charge them in like manner.

In relation to the paper currency which you will receive by the Jupiter, the Board hope that it will prove acceptable to the Colony. The motives which have led to this measure are set forth in the Report [marked E,] which is herewith forwarded to you. Though it will give you some trouble to sign the notes, deliver them out, and keep an account of them, this will, the Board trust, be more than compensated by the facility which the notes will afford to you in the transaction of the business of the Colony.—The Treasurer has numbered them, so that you will only have to sign your name, and you can do this from time to time as the notes may be wanted. You will observe, that each sheet contains notes amounting to \$4.60.—When you give them out to merchants or traders, it would be well to deliver them in sheets or half-sheets, without cutting them apart. Of course, as these notes are charged to you in account, you will part with them only in payment of debt, or for goods, or for cash or notes of hand. Supposing the last will probably be the most convenient way for merchants who may desire to obtain these bills as currency, we have, to save trouble, sent you a book of blank forms of notes, and one of receipts, so that when you deliver

to a merchant or company, a sheet or two, or more, of Agency notes, you can take his or their note on demand, which will not be considered as bearing interest until the demand is made. This will probably not be the case until you have occasion to transfer the note. These notes will also be convenient to you in payment of such of the printed Agency notes as may, from time to time, be returned to you for payment: and when you have more of them than you think necessary for this purpose, you can use them in purchasing provisions, discharging salaries or other demands which you may have to pay. The receipt book will be found convenient, either for Agency notes paid to officers on account of salary, or for payment on any other account: and the form being printed, trouble will thereby be saved, and being bound, the receipts will be securely kept.

If you circulate the Agency notes gradually as wanted, you will, it is supposed, seldom have any return upon you for payment, as they will, no doubt, be always in good credit throughout the Colony. It might be well, before issuing the currency, to converse with some of the merchants and most influential persons at Monrovia, bespeaking their friendly aid in circulating the notes, and assuring them that whenever necessary, you will take up the notes, either with goods, in cash or notes, or by drafts on this Board.

The Managers have received from the Colony by the Jupiter, three packets of bills and receipts of payments made by the Agency during the last year; but unaccompanied with any account current, without which they are of no use; for as there is no account for these receipts to vouch, nothing can be done with them. Neither was there any list of these bundles of papers. The Treasurer of the Society has, however, supplied this defect, by making out a list; but having done this, he can do nothing more. He cannot make a single entry on his books that will cast any light on the transactions of the Colony during the past year, for the satisfaction of the Managers, or for the information of the Society at its Annual Meeting. It is hoped that these deficient accounts will be received hereafter.

There came with these bills and receipts three quarto pages of post paper, in an envelope endorsed "Balance sheet, January 1, 1834, and amount paid since July 1, 1833, to January 1, 1834."

On the first of these pages was written

"Accounts paid from July 1, 1833, to January 1, 1834."

Contingent or Agency expenses, \$1142 94	John Leon, - - -	21 70
Dixon R. Brown, - - - 167 99	James C. Minor, - - -	115 75
Bassa settlement, - - - 517 42	Jacob W. Prout, - - -	189 84
G. V. Cesar, - - - 41 33	John B. Russwurm, - - -	101 57
Caldwell emigrants, - - - 2390 33	William Ruffin, - - -	339 10
Joshua Chase, - - - 47 79	Peter Mercer (pay of men not included), - - -	382 78
Patsey Davis, - - - 18 -	John Stewart, - - -	115 24
Elsey Davis, - - - 11 71	W. W. Stewart, - - -	7 72
James Eden, - - - 39 22	Joshua Stewart, - - -	126 26
James Fuller, - - - 36 13	J. M. Thompson, - - -	155 42
House expenses, - - - 155 06	A. D. Williams, - - -	50 60
Charles Harrison, - - - 158 50	W. L. Weaver, - - -	141 91
Elijah Johnson, - - - 597 15		

On the 2nd page, "List of balances due from Colonial Agency."

G. V. Cesar, - - - \$239 43	John B. Russwurm, - - -	348 19
Patsey Davis, - - - 182 83	William Ruffin, - - -	246 94
Joshua Chase, - - - 47 21	Wm. W. Stewart, - - -	28 08
Elijah Johnson, - - - 171 93	Joshua Stewart, - - -	163 64
John Leon, - - - 122 25	Sampson Taylor, - - -	8 55
James C. Minor, - - - 1 08	James M. Thompson, - - -	41 21
Jacob W. Prout, - - - 165 52	Wm. L. Weaver, - - -	36 05

On the 3rd page is the following: "List of balances due Colonial Agency, Jan. 1, 1834."

Dixon B. Brown, - - -	\$194 02	Charles Harrison, - - -	294 25
John Brisbane, - - -	697 58	Infirmiry, - - -	1121 09
Bassa settlement, - - -	3651 53	Millsburg settlement, - - -	160 16
Caldwell house, - - -	347 37	Schr. Margaret Mercer, - - -	1821 36
Caldwell emigrants, &c., - - -	5167 28	Jesse Shaw, - - -	6 63
Bennet Demery, - - -	159 62	John Stansberry, - - -	64 26
Elsey Davis, - - -	339 80	James Washington, - - -	50 86
James Eden, - - -	89 22	Lewis R. Johnson, - - -	71 41
Wm. Hicks, - - -	6 45	A. D. Williams, - - -	21 82
House expenses, - - -	477 25	Contingent or Agency expenses, - - -	3849 94

The Treasurer supposes that the foregoing statements have reference to the accounts of the Colony with this Board; but he needs farther light to enable him to understand their bearing, and to make any entry on the subject.

It is the wish of that officer, and it is the most earnest desire of the Board and of the Society at large, that semi-annual returns should be so clearly and amply made to this office, that he may at all times be able to exhibit a satisfactory view of the affairs of the Colony to all who contribute their funds to its support, and who have its prosperity and happiness at heart.

In connexion with this topic, I am instructed to transmit to you the following copy of a Resolution adopted by the Board on the 25th of April, 1834:—

"Resolved, That Mr. PINNEY be requested to have prepared and transmitted to the Board a statement of the amount of money received into the Colonial Treasury from all its sources, specifying the amount from each source under its proper head, and the amount disbursed, specifying the several objects of disbursement from the 1st of January, 1823, to the 1st of January, 1834."

In the Special Report before referred to, you will find expressed the views of the Board on the subject of drafts from the Colony. The extent to which this burden has heretofore been thrown on the Society, is the main cause of its present pecuniary distress. The Board have full confidence that your opinion on this subject concurs with their own; and that you will not, except under special circumstances, resort to this expedient. It will be their care to prevent, as far as may be, the occurrence of such contingencies. The drafts which you have drawn are justified by the circumstances in which you were placed, and have been accepted by the Board.

Your views of the mode of compensating officers at the Colony, coincide in a remarkable degree with those of the Board, as will appear from the Resolutions of January 30, 1834, before referred to. Your arrangement in regard to L. R. Johnson, meets the approbation of the Board for such time as you may have agreed on. If, however, you have made no precise agreement as to time, the obligation of the Society to pay his salary will be understood as terminating on the first day of August next, in pursuance of the fourth Resolution of January 30, 1834, hereinbefore communicated; Mr. Johnson's office (that of book-keeper), being one of those of which the support is thrown by the said Resolution on the funds raised in the Colony. This was done, because the Board was satisfied that the duties of book-keeper might be conveniently discharged by either the Colonial Secretary or the Store-keeper, both of whose salaries they consent still to pay. You will also consider these remarks, where applicable, as governing the other cases mentioned by you. In the case of Mr. Williams, which he has not enabled you to state with the precision that is desirable, he refers you to a conversation between himself and Mr. Gurley. On the Secretary's return to Washington, the Board will confer with him on the subject.

The Board regard as very judicious the views presented by you of the expediency of keeping the Public Store-house well supplied; and it will be their constant care to supply it to whatever extent the object may require, and the state of their funds will justify. You are requested to transmit by the first opportunity, a list of such articles as would be most acceptable at the Colonial Store. Measures have been taken for sending by the *Jupiter*, a supply of sea island cotton, wheel cards, and other merchandise, including provisions; also some agricultural implements. These, it is hoped, will be in readiness for that vessel.

The Board concur in your opinion of the importance of a Light-house and a Poor-house; and trust that means will be found in the Colony for the erection of those establishments. You are aware that it is wholly out of their power, at this time, to aid that desirable object. They are much gratified at the expedition with which you were enabled to put up a receptacle at Monrovia for the emigrants, at your having caused a saw-mill to be erected, and at your arrangements concerning the *Margaret Mercer*. Should future experience lead you to the conclusion that this Schooner cannot be profitably employed on the present plan, you will consider yourself authorized to hire her out, or to sell her, as you may deem best.

The Board also cordially approve of your proceedings in regard to the Hospitals, the Agency House and Yard, the Flag Staff, the Half-way houses, and the purchase of six acres of land at Bendoo. Your vigorous conduct in the last instance will, it is hoped, have the effect of preventing any farther difficulty on that subject. You will observe in the *African Repository* for March, 1831, p. 27, that the Board had passed a Resolution authorizing the Agent to purchase land in the interior, from a belief that the farming portion of the emigrants would be more healthy there than on the sea-board.

Of your proceedings concerning surveys, the Board also approve. They are fully satisfied of the importance of having a competent person to survey the whole country, and will, when able to incur the expense, cheerfully employ such an officer.

In order to meet the medical wants of the Colony, the Board have engaged the services of Dr. EZEKIEL SKINNER, of Ashford in Connecticut, and of Dr. ROBERT McDOWELL, of Edinburgh in Scotland. These Physicians, of whose qualifications and characters the most satisfactory testimonials exist, both go out in the *Jupiter*. You will assign to Dr. TODSEN and to them their respective locations and fields of duty; and the official relations of them all to you are to continue the same as those heretofore borne by the Colonial Physicians of the Society to its Colonial Agent.

CHARLES H. WEBB, one of the medical students for some time past under the care of the Board, will probably embark in the *Jupiter* for the Colony. You will be pleased to provide comfortable boarding for him on his arrival, during the prosecution of his medical studies, or to allow him such an amount in money as may be deemed a reasonable equivalent. The Board recommend him to your particular notice. Should any other of the said students sail in the *Jupiter*, as may possibly be the case, you will make the same arrangement in his instance as in that of Mr. Webb.

In the *Criterion*, which was chartered by this Society, and sailed for the Colony in August, 1831, Mr. A. H. Ringgold consigned 10 hhds. of tobacco to Dailey and Russwurm, for the freight of which they charged him, and he paid, one hundred and sixty dollars. Dailey and Russwurm had also goods in the same vessel, the freight of which amounted to from seven hundred to one thousand dollars. As the Society chartered the vessel, the freight was due to it; but no account of it appears in any returns received. The *Lafayette* was also chartered by the Society, and carried out 500 bls.

of flour at \$2 each, freight, of which we have no account. It is stated that \$200 were sent out by the Baltimore Society as subscriptions to the Liberia Herald, which money is not accounted for. You are requested to obtain what information you can in relation to the foregoing matters, and communicate it to this office.

The indispensable purpose of paying off the debt of the Society, calls into engrossing action all the energies of the Board. Until it shall be accomplished, they will not feel themselves at liberty to prosecute, except on a very limited scale, the business of emigration. It is not probable that emigrants will be sent to the Colony during the present year, unless the stock, created for the extinguishment of the debt shall meet with a more rapid sale than it has hitherto received, and thus leave the Board free to execute their plan of Colonial operations.

Herewith is forwarded the answer [marked F,] to the Colonial memorial enclosed in your letter of March 7, 1834, which answer you will be pleased to hand to the Committee representing the memorialists.

You will receive by the Jupiter, twenty copies of the Seventeenth Annual Report of the Society, several copies of late numbers of the African Repository, and a supply of American newspapers of recent date, which have been received at this office. You will, of course, afford to the Colonists every opportunity which they may desire of perusing these publications. The Board hope that the Liberia Herald will, for the future, reach the United States more punctually than heretofore. The lively interest felt here in that print, has made the irregularity of its arrival a subject of proportional disappointment.

In closing this communication, I request you to regard as one of the general duties of your office, that of furnishing the Board with detailed accounts of the condition and prospects of the Colony. Your attention is particularly urged to the Resolutions, in relation to the past and present statistics of the Colony, which were adopted at the last Annual Meeting, and are contained in p. xxi and xxii of the Seventeenth Annual Report. You are also expected to collect and forward to us all procurable information as to the operations of the slave trade, and as to the manners, customs, institutions, agriculture, commerce, and history, religious, civil and natural, of Africa.

With the best wishes for the successful administration of your office, and for your health and happiness,

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

P. R. FENDALL, Recorder.

### *List of Documents and Publications sent by the Jupiter.*

#### DOCUMENTS.

- A. Appointment of Mr. Pinney by the Secretary of the Navy.
- B. Commission from the Society to the Colonial Agent.
- C. Colonial laws passed since January 1st, 1834, and approved by the Board.
- D. Regulations for the Port of Monrovia, approved by the Board.
- E. Report on the establishment of a currency for the Colony.
- F. Answer to a Memorial from the Colony.

#### PUBLICATIONS.

Twenty copies of the Seventeenth Annual Report.

Five copies of the African Repository for each of the months of December, 1833, and January, February, March, and April, 1834, for the Colonial Agent and for distribution.

The same work during the same period, for subscribers.

A collection of recent newspapers.

OFFICE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, }  
WASHINGTON, MAY 28, 1834. }

REV. JOHN B. PINNEY,  
Colonial Agent, &c.

*Dear Sir:*—As the *Jupiter* has not yet sailed, contrarily to the wishes and expectations of the Board, they use the opportunity offered by the delay, to call your attention, more particularly than in my letter of the 15th instant, to the subject of Temperance in the Colony.

While the Managers are happy to believe, from the evidence before them, that the extent of the use of ardent spirits in Liberia has been grossly exaggerated, they cannot resist the conviction that the traffic in that article has been, and continues to be, carried on to a degree which menaces the best interests, if not the existence, of the Colony. So profound is this conviction, that for several years past, the absolute exclusion of ardent spirits from the Colony, except in small quantities, for medical purposes, has been meditated by the Managers; and nothing has prevented a resort to this strong measure, but serious doubts of its competency to effect the desired object. For the nature of these doubts, I refer you to the *African Repository*, Vol. 9, p. 66. They have hitherto prevailed with the Board to postpone either prohibiting in terms, or laying duties so heavy as effectively to prohibit, the introduction of ardent spirits, with the exception just specified.

Among the enactments on this subject which, from time to time, the Board have made, are the following Resolutions:—

*“Resolved, That the friends of the Society throughout the country, be informed that this Board will discourage the introduction and use of distilled spirits in the Colony, and among the native tribes; and that the subject is now under consideration of the Board.”*

*Adopted 26th of June, 1830.*

*“Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to prepare an address to the Colonists, to be sent out by the vessel, now about to be despatched; in which, among other things, to be recommended to their observance for their welfare, he shall encourage them to form Temperance Societies, and adopt such other measures as may tend to diminish both the use and the sale of ardent spirits in the Colony; and also, that in their commerce with the natives, they discontinue dealing in such articles; also, that the Secretary communicate to the Colonial Agent, the wishes of the Board upon this subject.”*

*Adopted 8th of November, 1830.*

*“Resolved, That the Board bear with extreme regret, of the continued introduction and use of ardent spirits in the Colony; that they are resolved to exercise all their influence to discourage and diminish the evil; and that no ardent spirits, except such as may be needful for medical purposes, shall be introduced by the Board or its Agents.”*

*Adopted April 30th, 1833.*

*“Resolved, That it be recommended to the Board of Managers, to take into consideration, at their next meeting, the expediency of prohibiting altogether, the introduction of ardent spirits into the Colony, as an article of trade with the natives, or of commerce with the Colonists.”*

*Adopted May 7th, 1833.*

The address, directed by the Resolution of November 8, 1830, was prepared in conformity with that Resolution, and transmitted to the Colony for distribution.

At a meeting of the Board on the 18th of December, 1833, the following Resolution was offered, and a decision on it deferred for farther deliberation:—

*“Resolved, That from and after the 1st of July, 1834, no ardent or distilled spirits shall be introduced into the Colony of Liberia for purposes of drink or traffic.”*

At the Annual Meeting of the Society, held shortly after, its attention was called to this important subject; but the members were not prepared to act decidedly upon it. The following remarks were made on that occasion by an eloquent and distinguished friend of the Society:—

*“My neighbours know that I am no friend to the rum traffic; and they, if no others, will attach some value to my declaration, that I have formerly, and now again since coming to the city, inquired into the measures adopted by our Board to promote Temperance in Liberia, and can cheerfully say, that I approve of them. As to the attempt to suppress the*

traffic in ardent spirit in Liberia by law; this might, perhaps, be an expedient measure; but, surely, our countrymen should not denounce us for omitting this measure, until, at least, some one of their own civil governments has set the example—the much needed example, I confess—of shutting up, by the strong arm of the law, the rum shops within its jurisdiction.”—(See Mr. GERRIT SMITH’S *Speech, Seventeenth Annual Report*, p. vii.)

The deep solicitude of the Board to avert the evils with which ardent spirits threaten the infant establishment under their care, induces them to urge on you to examine *immediately*, by the lights afforded at the Colony, into the expediency of their excluding from it that pernicious article; and to communicate to them, your opinion when formed, and the reasons for it. To whatever conclusion your own mind, or that of the Board, may ultimately arrive on the question of prohibition, you are requested to put in force, without delay, all available moral influences for persuading the Colonists to abstain from the traffic and use of ardent spirits, except as medicine. The Board take this occasion, through you, most earnestly to invoke all Colonists who are engaged in that traffic, to abandon it at once and forever. Its continuance opposes formidable obstacles, which gain strength every hour, to every effort in the United States for the benefit of the Colony; and may end in the failure of the most interesting scheme for promoting human happiness to which the present century has given birth.—Nothing would more gratify the Board than that the Colonists themselves, deeply concerned as they are in averting this disaster, should take the lead in banishing from their shores their deadliest enemy. Very little reflection must satisfy them that such a course is essential to the peace and prosperity of themselves and their families; and that it will ensure to them the esteem and zealous support of the wise and the good in this country.

As to specific modes for exerting a moral influence in favor of Temperance in the Colony, the Board suggest nothing additional at this time, leaving the selection of them to your own judgment, informed by local observation, and aided, as we trust it will be, by local advice. They will anxiously await your Report, and on receiving it will promptly pursue the path which duty may indicate.

I take pleasure in again subscribing myself,

Your’s very truly and respectfully,

P. R. FENDALL, Recorder.

*Extract from the minutes of the proceedings of the American Colonization Society, at a meeting held May 29, 1834.*

Whereas a letter has been received from JOHN T. NORTON, Esq. containing one thousand, ninety-three dollars, and twenty-nine cents, in part of a subscription of three thousand dollars proposed to be raised in Albany, New York, for the purpose of settling in Liberia one hundred temperance emigrants, in a village or settlement to be called Albany; Therefore

*Resolved*, That the Board will expend the sum received, and the sums which may be received hereafter on account of the aforesaid subscription, in strict accordance with the object thus designated.

*Resolved*, That the Colonial Agent be instructed to select a suitable and healthy settlement, to be called *Albany*, large enough to accommodate the said 100 temperance emigrants; and that he proceed, in the course of the year, to prepare ten tenements, agreeably to the Resolution of the Board of the 20th of February, 1834, published in the *African Repository*, Vol. 10, p. 26, 27; to be in readiness to receive such of said emigrants as may be first sent out.

*Resolved*, That to defray the expense of selecting the said settlement, and preparing the said tenements, five hundred dollars of the sum received be now invested in plain and printed cottons, cutlery, hardware and other suitable trade goods (excluding firearms, gunpowder and spiritous liquors);—and that the said goods be forwarded by the Jupiter, with instructions to the Colonial Agent, to apply the same, or their proceeds, as well as the accruing profits, to carry into effect the preceding Resolution; keeping a separate account of all disbursements for the object therein specified.

## REV. MR. PINNEY'S APPOINTMENT.

Since the despatches to Mr. Pinney were prepared, the Managers of the Colonization Society have received from the Directors of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, a communication, which, though it excludes for the present, the expectation that the Colony will enjoy the benefit of his permanent services as Agent, authorizes the hope that they will be continued for some considerable time. The communication is as follows:—

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, held in the City of Pittsburgh, May 6, 1834, the following minute was adopted, viz:—  
 "A communication was received from the Board of the American Colonization Society, and referred to the Executive Committee."

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Western Foreign Missionary Society, held in Pittsburgh, on the 15th day of May, 1834, the following minute was adopted, and ordered to be transmitted to the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, viz:—

"The Corresponding Secretary and Clerk of the Committee presented the application of the Board of Managers at Washington, which was read; when, after mature deliberation, the Committee decided that the following expression of opinion be adopted in answer to the request of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, viz:

"The Executive Committee of the Western Foreign Missionary Society have received the application of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, with sentiments of respect and cordiality, and endeavoured to take a dispassionate and impartial view of the subject to which it refers. Having sustained the expense and anxiety connected with the previous visit of Mr. Pinney to the coast of Africa, and afforded him the opportunity of acquiring such knowledge and experience as might fit him to take a leading part in the establishment of the present mission, they feel, that in yielding their consent to such a temporary arrangement as deprives the mission, at its outset, of the advantages of his personal co-operation, they have given to the Managers of the Colony a testimony of their sincere desire to promote its interests; and if, in their judgment, the continuance of Mr. Pinney in their service for some few months to come, shall be an important benefit to the Colony, they are willing that such an understanding should exist.—But when they consider the anxiety of Mr. Pinney, recently expressed, to be released from that station, that he may be able to devote his entire attention to the duties of his ministerial office—the feeble state of that mission—the anxiety of its members to retain Mr. Pinney, and the little prospect they have of being speedily able to reinforce it, or even to sustain it, if one of its members should be removed—and when they consider the serious pecuniary loss to this Society which the withdrawal of Mr. Pinney would involve; and the probability that some layman might be found, whose habits of business and other qualifications would better fit him for the office of Colonial Agent, *they cannot believe it to be their duty to accede to the proposal*, anxious as they are to oblige the respected Board of Managers, and to do all in their power to advance the prosperity of the Colony itself.—They would therefore connect, with the expression of their willingness that Mr. Pinney should retain his present relations for some time to come, the earnest desire that the Board would make other and permanent arrangements, as soon as practicable."

A true copy from the Minute. Attest,

E. P. SWIFT, Cor. Secretary.

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TO THE AUXILIARY SOCIETIES OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

WASHINGTON CITY, MAY 22, 1834

The Managers of the Parent Colonization Society deem it proper, at the present juncture of its affairs, to call upon their Auxiliary Societies for all the aid which they have it in their power to give them, to enable the Society to improve its present embarrassed condition. It is, no doubt, known to all the Auxiliaries, that the Parent Society has involved itself in debt, by having undertaken to remove from this country to Liberia, within the last two years, more emigrants than their means have proved equal to pay the expenses of. This, it may be said, was imprudent; but it ought to be

considered that the Managers were strongly urged to act as they did, under assurances that the benevolent friends of the Colony would not fail to supply the means to the Board of meeting the increased expenses thus incurred. This expectation, the Managers are sorry to state, has not been realized; the receipts for the past year having fallen short of former years, especially from the annual collections in the churches; and, though some liberal donations have been received from a small portion of the Auxiliary Societies, from by far the largest number of them no contributions at all were made.

The Board of Managers, therefore, take this opportunity of calling the attention of those Auxiliary Societies to the wants of the Parent Society, and to entreat them to afford it, in future, all the aid in their power. A small contribution from each member, annually, would enable the Society to effect the great object which it has in view; but if the Auxiliary Societies relax in their zeal, all exertions on the part of the Parent Society will be of no avail. Without a supply of funds (for which it has heretofore relied, and must continue to rely, on the benevolent friends of colonization throughout the United States) it can neither send additional emigrants to Liberia, nor support those already there until they are able to support themselves, nor maintain the institutions necessary for the proper government of the Colony.

To provide for the debt which the Parent Society has been under the necessity of incurring, the Managers have proposed a loan of \$50,000, to be paid off in twelve years, by means of a sinking fund of \$6,000 a year, from the receipts of the Society. This loan has partly been taken up; but, owing to the present embarrassed state of the money concerns of the community, it may not at once be wholly subscribed for. As far as it is taken, it will, however, relieve the Society of so much of its debt; and, whenever a more prosperous state of things shall take place, it is hoped the remainder of the stock will be taken; in which case, the Society, receiving its usual support, will be able to manage the affairs of the Colony without difficulty.

The Parent Board would suggest to the officers of the several Auxiliary Societies immediately to call a meeting of their members, fill up any vacancies which may have taken place in their officers, and resolve that each member will, in future, contribute something (however small the amount may be) for the support of the great object for which their Society was formed. If this reasonable suggestion be complied with, there can be no doubt the Parent Society will find it produce a very sensible effect upon its treasury.

Until the Society can make satisfactory arrangements for the discharge of its present debt, it has determined (though it has very many applications before it for emigration) to make few, if any, additions to the inhabitants of the Colony. The Managers will, in the mean time, turn their attention to improving its condition, by every means in their power; but if, in the course of the present summer, the Auxiliary Societies, the benevolent Clergy throughout the Union, and the friends of colonization generally, shall evince a disposition to join heartily with the Parent Society, in contributing liberally for extending the population of the Colony, a vessel or two may be sent out with emigrants in the fall of the year.

By order of the Board of Managers,

JAMES LAURIE, *President.*

P. R. FENDALL, *Recorder.*

## DR. S. H. COX AND COLONIZATION.

The pleasure which the friends of colonization derived from the accession of distinguished names, both in England and the United States, during the last few years, has been recently alloyed by the desertion of the gentleman whose name stands at the head of this article. So confident was the reliance on his attachment to that cause, that during his visit to England, he was expected to give it all the advantage of his powerful and eloquent support. It seems, however, from the 16th letter of a series constituting his "Journal of a visit to Europe," that this expectation was precipitately formed; and that supposing himself mistaken in one fact regarding colonization, he has deemed himself to be required or justified in abandoning it altogether. His published reasons for this violent conversion have called forth an able pen in the New York Journal of Commerce of April 30.—The writer states himself to be "no agent, or officer, or even recognised friend of the Colonization Society;" and that it is "in no degree responsible" for what he writes. In transferring his essay to the pages of the Repository, we do not mean to assume this responsibility, because in some of his views and illustrations, we do not concur. But the main part of the argument is so sound and conclusive, and the general ability of the article is so conspicuous, that we subjoin it entire.

## DR. COX'S LETTER ON ABOLITION.

The Rev. Dr. Cox, who is now publishing an interesting series of letters giving an account of his travels in Europe, has devoted one of them to a history of his own conversion to the principles of abolition. Dr. Cox went to England a firm friend of Colonization.—He found there many men of splendid talents and noble virtues who were abolitionists.—He says, "When such men opposed me in debate, with all the zeal of reformers, with much of the light of argument, and more of the love of piety, it was impossible that I should not feel their influence. Still, I replied with perfect conviction, and ordinarily with as much success as could have been rationally expected. There was one point, however, where I always showed and felt weak: It related to a question of fact—Are not the free negroes of your States, especially at the North, almost universally opposed to the project of Colonization? My answer was, no, at least I think not. That the point was a cardinal one, I always perceived; for the Society has to do with the free alone; and, by its constitution, expressly, *with their own consent.*"

"I admitted that, *if this were so*, the Society was stopped in its career by the lawful and appropriate *veto* of the people themselves; and here generally my mind uneasily rested, after every concussion of sentiment. In this mentally laboring condition, I returned to my native country, purposed to take no attitude in the matter, until that prime question was ascertained and settled. My investigations have issued in a complete conviction that, on this ground alone, the non-consent or unanimous opposition of the colored people of this country, especially of the Northern States, and preeminently of the better informed of them, the Society is morally annihilated. At all events I can advocate it no longer. More—If I had known the facts as they might have been known long ago, I never should have advocated the Society."

Here we have the pivot upon which the mind of Dr. Cox turned. He went to England in error as to a simple matter of fact, a fact too which was well understood, by most all intelligent men long before he left this country, and he defended that error against the intelligence of the best spirits of England. Having returned and corrected the isolated error which had so unfortunately lain in his mind, he seems to have concluded that all his opinions were equally erroneous, in fact that there was no truth on that side, and so gave up the cause. Changes of sentiment in this way are not uncommon with unskilful minds, but a man who understands mental philosophy so well as Dr. C. one would think not likely to be thus deceived. I put this forth, however, as my own analysis of the movements of the argument in the case, not as one which Dr. Cox avows, or with which I expect him to be exactly satisfied. He says he considered 'the point a cardinal one,' for if the free people of color were in fact opposed to colonization, then "the Society was stopped in its career by the lawful and appropriate *veto* of the people themselves;" "the Society was morally annihilated." But if colonization is annihilated, what need of opposing it? Why go to war with an annihilated foe? This is fighting with that which is less dangerous than windmills. But here I must be permitted to say Dr. Cox has fallen into another most remarkable error. Colonization is not annihilated, nor is it at all impeded in its op-

erations by the general prejudice of the blacks. I mean not in the way to which Dr. Cox refers, viz. its inability to find persons who are willing to accept its bounty. There are yet men and women of good character in the U. States, desirous of going to Africa, in numbers far beyond the ability of the Colonization Society to comply with their wishes.—As to the mere influence of opinion, I suppose no man of sense will agree to surrender his own, founded upon a full knowledge of the subject, for the mere reason, that almost all or quite all the colored population of the U. States are of a different sentiment.

Dr. Cox goes on in his letter to prove by the testimony of free colored persons that in general they are opposed to colonization. Of course, this is supererogation. If he has satisfied himself on this head, then he has brought himself, so far, to agree with the friends of colonization. One of these pieces of testimony is an extract from a sermon delivered by the Rev. Mr. Williams, Rector of St. Philip's church, on the 4th of July, 1830.—Among other things Mr. Williams says, "It is very certain that very few people of color wish to go to that *land*." Well, suppose they are but *few*. Who are these misnamed abolitionists, these real anti-abolitionists, who will step in to prevent the *wish* of this *few* from being gratified. Every man possesses his rights of this sort in himself, separately and alone, whole and entire. If the conscientious planter of the South wishes to rid himself of the curse and burden of being a slaveholder, and finding all better and all other doors closed against his benevolence but the door of Liberia, and if his slaves, instructed in the matter, wish and pant to go there, who are these caricature philanthropists that say, "clench the chains, they shall not be free?"

Dr. Cox concludes these extracts and this part of the subject as follows:

"Here then I take my position, not to be moved by the common arguments that array their poverty against it. The coloured people of this country, as a whole and almost to a man, are utterly opposed to the system; and this alone, if there was no other objection to colonization, appears to me conclusive and invincible."

This conclusion, upon which Dr. Cox places himself as upon a rock, seems to me so unreasonable, that I hardly know how to bring it sufficiently within the pale of reason to reason with it. What if all the colored persons in the U. States except one, did not wish to go to Liberia, and that one did wish to go,—by what logic is this to prevent him. How does it touch any corner of his right to go where he pleases? Who dare tell me that I shall not go to China if I please, because there is not another man in all New York who wishes to go there?

There is one other objection to colonization which Dr. Cox states at some length. He says,—“As a remedy for the evil of slavery in this country, it is incommensurate and puny compared with the extent and incessant growth of the evil. \* \* \* There is a catastrophe preparing for this country, at which we may be unwilling to look, but which will overtake us not on that account the more tardily or tolerably. We do not say there is no remedy—but only that the colonization remedy is ludicrously inadequate; in effect trifling with the community, till the time of preventing “the overflowing scourge” from passing through the land shall have irrevocably passed away. I shall offer no proof to a man who cannot himself see or feel the truth of the proposition, or demonstrate it at his leisure, that the project in question, as a remedy for the slavery of this country, is folly or mockery unparalleled. It is like self-righteousness, tasking its own resources for a remedy against moral thralldom, while it rejects the mediation and atonement of Jesus Christ.”

If Dr. Cox thinks colonization no better than self-righteousness, I presume he will not pretend that abolition has as yet disclosed any remedy for slavery which claims to stand side by side for its appropriate purpose, with the remedy which Jesus Christ has provided for the moral thralldom of sin into which we have all voluntarily sold ourselves. The position taken in the objection of Dr. Cox is unfairly stated. Not designedly so of course, for the letter throughout is peculiarly mild and candid. Yet it is unfair, for the Colonization Society has put forth no such claim. Here I ought to say, that the Colonization Society is in no degree responsible for what I write, nor any individual friend of that Society. I am no agent or officer, or even recognized friend of that Society. My real friendship for it must involve it in no responsibility, nor will I embarrass myself in writing, by any such considerations. I have not had leisure enough from my daily labors to examine minutely what ground that Society has taken in all its minutiae. I write for myself, and for nobody else.—But this much I can say, that neither that Society nor the friends of colonization in the abstract, have ever based its claims to support, upon its being “a remedy for the evil of slavery in this country.” There may be individuals who think it will prove such a remedy. The claim put forth is only, that the effect of colonization, so far as it has gone, has been good, and that what it purposes to do is also good. Let us see if it is not so.

In the first place it has done *something* on the subject of this greatest of our national evils, and it points to *something* more yet to be done; and that I think soberly is more than abolition is able to boast of.

It has taken and proposes to continue to take, as many as its means will enable it, of suitable persons, from those who are now free or who shall be emancipated, and who belong to that *few* who *wish to go*, and establish them in colonies on the coast of Africa, the native land of their fathers.

In doing this, it claims also to be accomplishing an incidental good, which rises in magnitude while it is contemplated, until its amazing grandeur seems almost to surpass the direct benefits which colonization hopes to confer on our own country and the colored population among us. This mighty incidental benefit consists in studding the coast of Africa with colonies, bright and glistening in the beauties of christianity and civilization and casting back the beams of their influence upon Africa—throwing around that desolated country the arms of Christian protection, and introducing into her recesses of darkness and blood the light of the glorious Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Who are these Christians, that oppose this work of glory and salvation? I care not if there be named among them “such persons as Dr. Morison of London, Professor Edgar of Belfast, and Dr. Hugh of Glasgow, and Dr. Cox of New York.” It would not diminish one atom of my faith. I should still think, that a spell of delusion had for a moment blinded the vision of these great and good men, and I would cry to them, Friends of the Redeemer and of man, hands off from an ark so holy. It contains the tables of the covenant for millions of your fellow beings. Stop it not—but leave that effort of sacrilege to the reckless and infuriated.

What Colonization promised to do, it has done. What it purposes still to do, it is able to accomplish. It has promised only to do *what it can*, and it is in vain to say it cannot do that.

For myself, however, I deny altogether the position of Dr. Cox, that “the Colonization remedy is ludicrously inadequate”—“folly or mockery unparalleled.” I acknowledge myself “a man who cannot himself see or feel the truth of the proposition.” On the contrary I will demonstrate to him at my leisure, that the remedy, so far as mere capacity goes, does possess sufficient power to remove Slavery from our country. I need not stop to prove that there is vacant space enough on good land in Africa for all our colored population, nor that it would be possible to make negotiations for the quiet and peaceable possession of it. The difficulty is supposed to be in the want of ships enough to transport the blacks, and money enough to pay the expense of transportation and the necessary support of them until able to provide for themselves. If I can prove the last, the Yankees will take care to bear me out in the first. For if we can furnish profitable employment for any number of ships, that number will speedily be furnished. One hundred and fifty thousand emigrants have procured themselves to be transported across the Atlantic to our shores within a single year, and that without any incumbrance to the shipping interest, or any interruption to the other operations of commerce, or even causing any advance upon the usual price of twenty dollars a head for steerage accommodations. The sales of our public lands now amount to over four millions of dollars annually, and the amount is rapidly increasing. Let this be appropriated to paying the *passages*, and at twenty dollars each, it will remove two hundred thousand annually, and who shall say that the nation *cannot* provide for the expense of subsistence during the passage, and afterwards for a year. If one State were to be taken after another and cleared, and especially if none but the young and middle aged were taken, and the aged permitted to remain and end their days here, the whole nation could be cleared in no unreasonable time. I make this statement roughly, and leave it so; for all I wish is, to show that colonization does afford a *possible* remedy. Whether it is the *probable* remedy is another affair. But I repeat that it is not at all upon its being such a remedy, that it rests its claims for support. These claims rest upon *what it has done and is doing*. If greater good grows out of these efforts as a final result, so much the better. No one knows what doors Providence may open in the distance. These are things to be hoped for, and prayed for,—not promised. My doctrine is, work now, do anything of present good which our hands find to do, and when this is accomplished, Providence will point us to further labors. When this contemptible inadequacy of colonization presents itself to the minds of abolitionists, they would find themselves greatly relieved by looking at some other equally inadequate beginnings, which in the days of their infancy excited superior contempt, but which have grown to be mighty. Twelve fishermen to convert the world! A few hundred missionaries have lately set themselves to carrying the gospel to six hundred millions of heathen, under the notion that the remedy they propose is in its *nature adequate* to the evil, and that with God's blessing it may prove practically the means of subverting paganism. I do not intend unfairly to assume that because colonization is now small, and in this respect like the examples I have cited, it will therefore and of course maintain a likeness throughout. But I say its present littleness is not to be urged against its existence, nor as a certain proof that it will never rise to an immeasurably greater importance.

Dr. Cox's other objections to colonization are clustered together as follows: “It seems to me that the system tends to blind the eyes of the nation to the actual condition of things; to prevent the prosperous action of the only true remedy; to harden the hearts of the good against the claims of God on behalf of our colored brethren; to inspire the creation or imagination of motives, to induce the consent of the free to emigrate; to withhold from the heart the resources of its own pity and kindness, towards those who choose to remain; to take from ourselves the proper motives that would otherwise actuate our christian philanthropy, in meliorating the condition of the colored people of this country; to make us think that their universal expatriation from our shores—little matter where—is the grand

ultimate desideratum of the whole concern; to induce us to blame them for deliberately choosing to remain; and to beget a state of public sentiment and a course of public action, in which selfish expediency shall take precedence of eternal equity, and invite the interposition of wrath from heaven to clear our perceptions and recover us to wisdom." It would lead me into a discussion immeasurably wider than I intended, to examine all these propositions. The only reply I can make, and perhaps under the circumstances it is as fair as any, is to say, that, "it seems to me" quite otherwise; and that it seems to me most strange, that the discovery which Dr. Cox made of the most remarkable mistake he was under as to a simple matter of fact, should have so entirely revolutionized his mind upon all these matters of argument and opinion. I do not understand how the two things came to be so indissoluble; I see no chain, no fibre, which binds them together.

The only prominent topic in the letter of Dr. Cox which calls for my further attention is the reply which he makes to the question "What is the remedy?" To this he says:—

"I answer—THE GENUINE INFLUENCE OF THE GOSPEL: THE LOVE OF CHRIST, producing in us its appropriate fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy;" striving to elevate them mentally, morally, and religiously—surrendering our cruel prejudices; recognizing in them the identity of the human species, and the rights of men, as "by nature free and equal" universally, and seeking, in every possible way, to enlighten and correct public sentiment respecting them; not by ferocity or denunciation, or epithets of coarse crimination; but by wisdom, argument, kindness, firmness, christian example, and prayer to Almighty God, who "executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed."

This is all thorough going non-committal. There is nothing in it which is not as much the creed of Colonizationists as of Abolitionists. Not one word, sectarian or distinctive. This matter of "the remedy," is "the rule" with us all, and most of all with Abolitionists. When we hail them, they answer very loquaciously until we ask "where are you bound?" when they instantly "put the helm hard up and go about." They are bound on a cruise to fight colonization and capture any vessel which they find in a quandary, but beyond that they are going no where in particular. Yet this great matter of the remedy is in reality the only matter in dispute. Abolitionists indeed go over the horrors of the slave trade and of slavery itself, and seem, most unfairly I must say, to claim this common ground as all their own. But so far from going before others on these points, they are half a century behind. They set themselves soberly to prove, what a monster slavery is in all its forms, and seem just to have discovered what every body else knew to agony, long ago. In this they appear as a set of philosophers would, who should set up some new theory of the planets, and begin by proving at length that the earth is a globe, and rolls over, and then should claim all as of their sect who believe the Copernican system. With all the investigation of Abolitionists, they have found out what was very well known before they were heard of, that the remedy is to be found in "the genuine influence of the gospel." "And so they have set themselves to oppose and upset the only systematic way in which those wiser than themselves have brought the genuine influence of the gospel to bear upon and melt the chains of slavery."

Having applied my scissors physically to the four columns of the Evangelist containing the letter in question until it lies before me a perfect wreck, and having, as I hope, also made a moral and mental wreck of its arguments and positions, I shall proceed to state my own views of this great subject.

I start with the following propositions. Slavery in this country must terminate in

#### COLONIZATION, AMALGAMATION, OR ANNIHILATION.

I have already shown that it *may* terminate in colonization. I now proceed to examine the alternatives to which we are shut up by the doctrines of abolition, and I say without hesitation, they are but two, amalgamation or annihilation. The idea of perpetuating the blacks as a free and independent, equal and commingled, yet distinct race, is, in my opinion, sheer fancy. History contains no trace of any such thing, if we except the Jews preserved by constant miracle in fulfilment of the threatening and promise of God. On the contrary it buries in oblivion all such races of men, and leaves no traces of them behind. The Indian aborigines of this country are before our eyes a living, dying and conclusive proof of what must become of the negro race if set free upon our shores and in the midst of our population. Their mighty nations have melted away before the whites like winter's snow before the vernal sun; until the melancholy conviction is settling upon our minds that no efforts of philanthropy and no protection of laws can save them from utter extinction. To this same conclusion tend irresistibly the statistics of our own country. The various enumerations of our inhabitants show that while [kept in slavery, the blacks increase fully one third faster than the whites around them.— But the free blacks do not increase at all: on the contrary, they dwindle away, as the annexed table will show. It is well known that from the New England States there is very little emigration of the blacks. They have not within them that stirring spirit which stimulates the white sons of that portion of our country to penetrate the West, and in fact, people the world with intelligence and enterprise. On the contrary, the current of black population sets into New England from the great reservoir of the South. Yet what do we

see? In those States which are so situated as to receive the smallest portions of these emigrants, the aggregate of colored people is diminishing.

*Table showing the number of colored persons in the New England States from 1790 to 1830 :*

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
Vermont, Free,	225				
Slaves,	16				
Total.....	241	557	750	918	881
New Hampshire,	680	855			602
Slaves,	158	8			6
Total.....	788	863	970	783	608
Mass. and Maine,	6001	7,370	7,706	7,669	8,226
Rhode Island	3,407	3,804	3,609	3,454	3,564
Slaves,	948	380	180	48	14
Total.....	4,355	3,684	3,617	3,502	3,578
Connecticut,	2,808	5,300	6,452	7,870	8,047
Slaves,	2,764	951	310	97	25
Total.....	5,572	6,251	6,762	7,967	8,072

In this table the colored race has the benefit of all "mulattoizing," as Dr. Cox has it.—Every son of New England will find his own recollection corroborating these statistics. The colored race, therefore, is constantly melting away. To my mind the proof is satisfactory, that a decree of abolition throughout our whole country, without some other measure in connexion with it, would be the knell of extinction to the blacks. If I were called upon to choose between extinction and perpetuated slavery, I am an abolitionist so thoroughgoing as to prefer extinction. Yet it is an awful alternative, and one to which I do not believe we are yet driven.

Let us then examine amalgamation or mulattoizing. Here we have to encounter all the "horrible prejudice" of which Dr. Cox complains, and of which all abolitionists complain, but which seems to control their own actions as much as the actions of other men. Dr. Cox is, however, so determined to break down prejudice, that he declares he "would never consent to go to any people as their pastor, who had no room for colored people." But I must tell Dr. Cox, that to require a people to provide room where the blacks can sit by themselves, is but submitting to and perpetuating the prejudice of which he complains. He must take different and opposite ground from this. He must go to no people where there is room provided for the blacks, but only to such as abjure prejudice, and admit colored persons to sit commingled with the whites. If amalgamation is to preserve the blacks, then surely every good man will say it must be in holy matrimony. Then let abolitionists show themselves superior to prejudice, and play the part of men in the business. Seat yourself, sir, by that beautiful bonette; ask her to marry you; urge your suit. You hesitate. In your eyes, your lips, your nose, you show signs of horrible prejudice. Nay, sir, take her to be your wedded wife, and anticipate the joys of your happy fireside, graced by her and the little mulatto pledges of your love.

Do you refuse? Then turn a man of sense, and cease to prate of prejudices which in yourself you cannot overcome. When abolitionists will subdue prejudices in themselves only so far as to take blacks for their clerks, companions and associates, we will let them begin to lecture us. Until then, let them see to their own improvement. Doubtless there is great prejudice about the blacks, but there is a great deal to keep the races distinct which is not prejudice. They are by nature and unalterably disagreeable to each other and by qualities which can never be perfumed to sweetness by any refinements of logic about abstract equality. There will never be an honorable and virtuous amalgamation of the races. It will never come about, but as the effect of a broad, and general and boundless prostitution. A deluge of pollution must engulf our country, at the thought of which the heart sickens. Thank God the thought has no permanent existence but in brains left vacant by the abandonment of reason.

From the despair of these expedients, I turn to Colonization as the only hope for the blacks or the whites. I seize it as the only plank that can save me and my country, and I say to the Abolitionists as the Christian says to the deist about his Bible, take it not away until you provide me something better in its stead. If abolitionists can add any thing to what is now doing for the blacks, let them do so. They shall have the hearty co-operation of good men. Colonization does not pretend to be every thing, much less does the Colonization Society pretend that it is doing every thing which ought to be done for them. It does but one thing. The field is broad, let others come in and add their labors, and do other things. But in mercy to the negroes and to my country, and to Africa, I call upon christian men not to shut out the only distinct ray of light which now beams upon us.

QUO.

## COLONIZATION.

The intelligent Editor<sup>of</sup> the "Pittsburg Christian Herald and Western Missionary Reporter," in his paper of May 17, has the following remarks concerning the Colonization Society:

"We have thought it strange indeed, in those who call themselves Abolitionists, and assume to themselves the reputation of being the exclusive friends of the colored race, that their zeal is exhausted in vituperating slave-holders, the friends of colonization, and the Colonization Society.

"If our sentiments are worth any thing on such a subject, we would claim to be as strong abolitionists as any one, whose name graces the roll of the society. But the opposition to the Colonization Society—the misrepresentation of its sayings and doings, and the exultation which has been indulged when any thing appeared, in expectation or in fact, to its disadvantage, with the spirit manifested towards the people of the South, has hitherto held us at a distance from it."

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Republican, May 17, 1834.]

The March and April Nos. of the African Repository (published at Washington City under the direction of the American Colonization Society) have come to hand. They contain some articles of unusual interest to the friends of the Colonization cause. Among these are a review of Anti-Slavery publications and Defence of the Colonization Society, by Hon. T. FRELINGHUYSEN; a Report submitted to the Managers in February, by Hon. WALTER LOWRIE, from the Committee to whom was referred the subject of the Society's debt (\$15,645) and the causes of it; encouraging letters from Gerrit Smith, Esq. Mr. Frelinghuysen and others, accompanied by liberal donations to wipe off the debt and continue the operations of the Society; a letter from Capt. Voorhees, of the U. S. Navy, giving a clear and on the whole encouraging view of the situation and wants of the Colony. There are also several other articles of an interesting character, neither of which our limits will admit of at this time. The exposition of the Managers in regard to the debt is evidently a frank and undisguised admission of facts. From them we discover no impurity of purpose any where, except it may be in the merchants of Liberia in charging exorbitant profits upon stores furnished the colonists, and to an amount altogether beyond the expectations of the Managers. This cause, with the large shipments of colonists in 1832, when the Society was actually in debt, together with the want of business-like vigilance on the part of the Managers, has produced the debt. But these adverse circumstances have stimulated the Society to a complete system of retrenchment and reform.—The evils of the past, will be guarded against in future. A number of wealthy and distinguished gentlemen in different parts of the country, came forward immediately to assist in wiping off the debt, and in sustaining the Society in its work of philanthropy. We trust the friends of the Society in this country, will lose none of their former confidence or zeal in the institution and will in due time come forward in aid of its work.

A new weekly paper entitled the "Journal of Freedom," has been commenced at New Haven, Conn. It is very neatly printed and promises to be ably conducted. We subjoin the following extracts as specimens of its principles and style:

THE COLONIZATION OF AFRICA. We do not enter the field of controversy, as the advocates of the American Colonization Society. This Journal is independent of that Society and all its branches. Yet we profess ourselves friends of African Colonization.—The colonies which American benevolence is planting on the continent of Africa, are essential in our view, to give completeness and system to the efforts which are now made in some quarters for the renovation of the African race. We have therefore no alliance with those whose battle-cry is, "The destruction of the Colonization Society, the first step to the abolition of slavery." It is not our design however, as we have already intimated, to fill our columns with controversy on that subject. To collect and record the facts respecting the Society and its colonies, will be more agreeable to us, and more profitable to our readers. We shall not be dependent for these facts on the official publications of the Society. There are other sources of information, to which we have access. We design to maintain a correspondence with individuals in the colonies, expressly for the purpose of obtaining authentic and full accounts for this Journal.

The progress of discovery and improvement in the CONTINENT OF AFRICA, will be considered as one of our topics of inquiry and record. Science, Commerce, and Christian

zeal, are looking eagerly to Africa. Traveller after traveller has perished in the attempt to penetrate its forests, and to trace its mysterious rivers. The gold, the ivory, the precious woods, the spices and the gums of Africa are yet to reward the adventurous toil of commerce. And Ethiopia, on whose borders the missionary is here and there beginning to labor amid perils and deaths, is ere long to stretch forth her hands in praise.

### WILBERFORCE ON COLONIZATION.

*Encouragements to African Colonization, drawn from the success of the colony of Sierra Leone; an extract from a speech delivered by William Wilberforce, at the Sixteenth Anniversary Meeting of the British African Institution, May 10th, 1823.*

Let us keep in mind the obstacles which have been surmounted in England, and thence infer the probable success which will ultimately crown our efforts in other countries. Let it be recollected, also, that but a few years ago the colony of Sierra Leone used to be pointed at exultingly by the enemies of Abolition, as proving how visionary was the attempt to raise in the scale of being, a race who were intended to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water," and who were unfit for any higher purposes than to be the slaves of civilized communities? But what is now the state of that colony? Does it not exhibit in a most surprising degree, considering the recent date of its establishment, the blessed effects, on the African character, of the communication of the principle of British liberty, and the Christian religion. Those who were discouraged during the early disasters of that colony, had overlooked the difficulties which never fail to attend colonization, even under the most favorable circumstances. If we look at the history of colonization on the other side of the Atlantic, we shall see this in the case of Virginia; a colony set on foot, not by weak projectors, but undertaken by the greatest and wisest men,—suggested by Lord Bacon; and partly executed by Sir Walter Raleigh. Three times had that colony failed, and been successively renewed under these auspices. Three times had it been entirely deserted. Another effort however, a final experiment was made. Providence blessed the effort, and it succeeded.

No one could have anticipated the success we have met with at Sierra Leone. When we first formed that settlement we naturally looked forward to an early Abolition of the Slave Trade; but the Slave Trade was unfortunately continued for sixteen years after the colony had been planted, and it had also to struggle with all the difficulties of a maritime war; and with other calamities: yet with all these drawbacks from our just expectations, what is the present state of Sierra Leone? A sensible and impartial observer lately told me, that he never witnessed stronger manifestations of the influence of true religion and sound morality, than appeared in the case of the poor, ignorant, unenlightened savages rescued from the holds of Slave ships, and now settled at Sierra Leone. Such are the words of an eye-witness. That gallant officer in the British navy, Commodore Sir George Collier, expressed himself quite overcome with the appearance of piety which characterized these people. "I have attended," he said, "places of religious worship all over the world, but never any where have I seen a greater degree of religious feeling than I saw displayed at their devotion, in Sierra Leone, by these poor Africans." In the great operations of nature, though her momentous impulse is unerring, still the progress is often slow. In like manner, in our great work, a rapid acceleration is hardly to be expected. But still we have made great advances: we have, it is true, our moments of discouragement; nevertheless, we have every reason to hope; none to despair. Let us proceed confident-

ly and steadily to the attainment of the end of our labors. We are something in the situation of travellers in the Andes, who, though they have continually to experience fresh obstructions, though they see "Alps on Alps rise," yet still ascend, supported by the triumph of hourly conquering their difficulties. They have to climb mountain heights; but looking upwards towards the summit, their path is sometimes cheered by seeing it enlightened by the solar rays, thus beckoning them forward as it were with new hopes, and inspiring them with fresh courage, till at length they reach the termination of their toilsome march. Have we not a similar solace to cheer our steps? Do we not feel that we are ascending a great moral elevation? And do we not see, when we turn our eyes to the summit, that

"Eternal sunshine settles on its head?"

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[From the Western Luminary, (Lexington Ky.) May 14.]

#### AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

This Society is progressing with its plan of effecting a loan of fifty thousand dollars, in sums not less than one hundred dollars, for which scrip is to be issued, bearing interest at six per cent. per annum. The principal and interest are to be reimbursed in twelve years. And to insure this, the Managers have provided and pledged six thousand dollars annually, as a sinking fund. The plan appears to us entirely practicable. Notwithstanding the outcry raised against this benevolent institution from certain quarters, we cannot but believe its hold on the affections of the community is sufficiently strong, not only to insure the success of this plan for relieving it from its present pecuniary embarrassment, but also to insure its future permanent prosperity.

This noble institution has accomplished and is still accomplishing too much in the great cause in which it is enlisted, to permit the idea to be for a moment entertained, that its services can be dispensed with. If some of its former friends think they can operate more efficiently in meliorating the condition of our colored population, and promoting the best interests of the country with reference to that class, by other means, why let them do so. We have no quarrel with such for not thinking with us. We ourselves belong to the Gradual Emancipation Society formed in this state a few months since; but we never dreamed that becoming a member of that Society was to be regarded as an acknowledgment that we had become hostile to the American Colonization Society. Our view was then, and still is, that they are kindred institutions, aiming at the promotion of the same grand object. Why should they not harmonize? Why should they not act in concert. Admit the fact contended for by some, that the American Colonization Society is inadequate to remove the deadly evils under which the country is groaning in consequence of slavery? Does that furnish a rational argument in favor of hostility to that Society, or even a withdrawal from its support? We have no idea that the American Board of Commissioners or the Western Foreign Missionary Society can, separately or combined, ever supply the demands from the heathen world for missionaries, yet what man in his senses would make that a ground of loss of confidence in these noble institutions, and withdrawal of support from them?

True, the American Colonization Society may never remove all our colored population. But has it not removed a number, and elevated them

from a state of almost hopeless degradation to the immunities and enjoyments of freemen? Has it not proved a noble pioneer in this sublime enterprise? And above all, is it not exerting a regenerating influence on abused and deeply injured, benighted Africa, the value of which the records of eternity are alone adequate to unfold, and which entitle it to the affectionate regards and good wishes of every benevolent heart? Let those then who are permitting their affections to be alienated from this great and comprehensive scheme of benevolence, because the financial concerns of the Society have been negligently managed, or because they suppose it inadequate to do all that is desirable with regard to our colored population, act not hastily or from a superficial view of the subject.

### FROM LIBERIA.

The subjoined letter is from Beverley Wilson, formerly of Norfolk.—The Editors of the Norfolk Herald state that the writer is well known to many citizens in Norfolk, as a man of correct moral deportment, and industrious habits. "Though comfortably situated here, and partaking of the prejudice which so unaccountably prevails among the coloured population against the Colony, he nevertheless had the good sense to discern that a lasting home, and a foundation of future peace and independence for his family were only to be obtained on the shores of Liberia; and with a view of satisfying himself respecting the actual condition and circumstances of the country, of which he had heard so many contradictory accounts, he determined to visit it, and judge for himself; intending, if he liked it, to move his family thither. His report, therefore, may be received as the testimony of an honest and impartial witness.

The letter is dated Monrovia, March 4. The emigrants that went out in the Jupiter had all had the fever, of which four had died, viz: one woman of 75, two children under 12, and the wife of the Rev. Mr. Wright. The rest were all convalescent.

"I am not prepared (says the writer,) to tell you much about the distant parts of Africa at this time; as far as I have seen, I am well pleased. Monrovia is improving very fast; the town contains two hundred and twenty dwelling houses, besides stores and other buildings; there are about ten warehouses built of stone, and a number of their dwellings have stone basement stories, and are whitewashed inside and out; some are neatly finished.

"There are many vessels on the coast, which are going out and coming in almost every day. We have also many foreign vessels here. The harbor has not been clear since I arrived.

"We have fruit in abundance, and the varieties too numerous for me to mention at this time.

"We have also, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, goats, jacks, and all kinds of poultry that we have at home.

"The fish are very fine; I have seen them weigh 186 pounds. Porgeys, mullets, and sunfish are very plenty.

"I have been told by some who are acquainted with farming, that the land is as good as any in America.

"We have two Sabbath Schools in Monrovia, and an every day school for male and female pupils. I have seen at the Methodist Sabbath School, about one hundred children. We have also Sabbath Schools at Grand Bassa, about one hundred miles from Monrovia, at Millsburg and Caldwell; and have established three others among the natives.

Since I arrived, we have purchased land on Junk river, which is good for farming, and the water abounding with excellent fish and oysters.

"We have a number of the different tribes to visit us from the interior; I have seen them from as far as Arabia. I have also seen the Mahomedan priests in the Colony; they read and write, and are anxious to converse on the Scriptures. They ask many interesting questions.

"I believe this bids fair for a good country. We only want means for the people who are sent here unprepared for farming or any thing else. I have seen the sugar cane and coffee tree, both very thriving."

[From *Zion's Herald*.]

The following letter, from our former associate in conducting the affairs of the Herald, cannot fail of being read with feelings of solemn interest:—

MONROVIA, WEST AFRICA, FEB. 14, 1834.

**VERY DEAR BROTHER:**—Were it not that I feel my heart most tenderly attached to you from a long and intimate acquaintance, and from having been a sharer in the same arduous toils that now engage your constant attention, I should not be induced to resist the lassitude and excessive weakness I feel, and resolve upon writing you a letter. But I believe you will rejoice to hear from me, even if I can furnish you but a scrawl.

Our passage here, though extended to fifty-four days, was exceedingly pleasant; and nothing could exceed the attentions of Capt Knapp, who endeared himself to us all. We first heard the welcome cry of "*Land, ho!*" on the morning of Dec. 30th, which proved to be Grand Cape Mount, about fifty miles north of Cape Mesurado. A calm prevented our reaching Monrovia until the next day, when at 3 o'clock we dropped anchor in Monrovia harbor. By reason of a bar at the entrance of the river upon which the town is situated, vessels are obliged to lie off at some distance: therefore we did not land until the next day. So I spent the "*watch-night*" in rather a different way than usual, for want of an opportunity to spend it otherwise—I set upon deck, as it was a lovely evening, until midnight gazing upon the surrounding scenery, and listening to the loud dashing of the sea against the rocks which compose Cape Mesurado, and to the song of the natives upon the adjacent beach. Indiscribable were my emotions that evening, and the next morning, as we first stepped upon the soil of Africa. We stood now in a land which engaged our thoughts, feelings, prayers, our all—a land for which the prayers of thousands were going up to the throne of God—a land where death seemed to have taken his stand, saying to the missionary, "I have met thee, and thou art mine,"—and knowing not what was before us, a thousand conflicting sensations awoke and died away in our bosoms.

Our first business was to prepare for our future residence; and a few days only passed away before we were located in the "mission house," purchased by Br. Cox, and the same in which his spirit took its upward flight. The room in which he died, remained as he left it. We proceeded immediately to look after the affairs of the church, &c.—attended conference, and transacted other important business, connected with the interests of the mission. I had been on shore but two weeks when I was seized with the fever—the first of the family—sister Farrington the next day—Mrs. Wright, sister Spaulding, and B. Spaulding, successively—Br. S. has been confined to his bed six days at this date, and seems doing well. I was confined to my bed twenty days, unable to rise without assistance, and then I almost invariably fainted away. But, alas! my dear companion has been taken from me!—yes, Phebe is no more! O my brother—O my brother—father—friend—what a stroke is this! what a cup for me to drink in my sickness. I cannot—I am unable to recount here the closing scene of her life, I must refer you to my letter to the Secretary of the Missionary Society. Prostrated with the fever, I could not so much as follow her remains to the tomb—I could only take one lingering, tearful look at the slow and silent procession, as it moved to the resting place of the dead. But she rests with God.

I find myself recovering now, and am able to walk at a distance of four or five rods in the cool of the day, Sister S. and sister F. are doing well. Nothing can exceed the faithfulness and attention of Dr. Todsen during our sickness.

I cannot describe the fever. It is a singular disease, attacking different individuals with very different degrees of severity—some are confined but a few days—others are sick only every other day, while again some are at once prostrated for weeks; and others experience occasionally attacks for months. In severe attacks, the pain in the head and back, (always the premonitory symptoms, and the attendants of the fever,) beggars description. The patient is generally better every other day; and is left at last with but the strength of an infant. My attack was a severe one; and the fever is bad enough, but does not seem to me so horrid as has been represented. But three of the emigrants who came out in the Jupiter have died; one an old woman of 80 or upwards—one, a little girl, of the fever—and a child of the lock-jaw.

But, by this time, you are ready to say, tell me something about the colony. This I should be glad to do, much more fully than I am able. With the location of Monrovia, I am pleased, save that but little can ever be done in agriculture, as the whole Cape seems to be a rock. Yet much more *can* be done in respect to cultivation than has been accomplished. If the individuals residing here had the enterprize of a Yankee farmer, many a now barren spot, would become a blooming garden. To secure the prosperity of the colony, there is evidently too great a rage for trade—which occasions a neglect of education, a want of public spirit in relation to improvements, &c., with many other evils. There has unquestionably harm resulted to the Colony heretofore, from sending out improper materials. Too many have been sent here, who have no other idea of *freedom*, than that it is a release from all necessity of labor. Hence they remain indolent and poor. There

has been mismanagement here, too, in the government and superintendence of the Colony. There is, however, as much morality existing here as I expected to find; and the statements in this respect, made in your hearing by Messrs. Williams and Roberts, I find to be true. Yet there is much, very much to be effected here, before a "light to enlighten the Gentiles" goes forth from this Colony. The place is becoming more healthy every year, and I doubt not will continue so to do, as the place becomes cleared. For further information I must refer you to letters to other individuals, and to communications I may hereafter make. Love to all your family. Let me share in your prayers.

Yours affectionately,

S. O. WRIGHT.

*Letter from Rev. Mr. Spalding.*

MONROVIA, JANUARY 11, 1834.

DEAR BROTHER:—I cannot doubt that our friends and the friends of missions in America, are by this time, anxiously waiting to hear from us, and to learn that their prayers have been answered in our preservation hitherto.

We are in Africa, and all in fine health and spirits. We cast anchor in Monrovia bay on the afternoon of the last day of December, and landed on the 1st day of January, between ten and eleven o'clock, A. M., so as to commence our labours with the new year. We had a very pleasant passage, although protracted by contrary winds and calms to fifty-five days. It was so pleasant that we were able to be on deck some part of every day of the passage. All were well, both passengers and emigrants, except the very slight indisposition of a few. Our company was very agreeable, and we felt that it was "pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity." The kind assiduities of Captain Knapp in every attention that he could bestow, endeared him to our hearts, and drew forth many prayers for his happiness and salvation.

Nothing occurred worthy of note during the passage but what is peculiar to most voyages of the kind; and as in the midst of many pressing cares, I find but little time to write, I shall be excused in confining myself to what will be of more general interest to the Board. The first land that we discovered after we left America, was Grand Cape Mount, a sketch of which I took at the time with a pencil, and herein forward you. We first saw it on the morning of the — December, before daylight, in the midst of a most terrific thunderstorm, when by the glare of the lightning's flash, its majestic summit could be seen proudly rising above the horizon, at the distance of about ten or twelve miles. It is a noble elevation of about a thousand feet above the level of the sea, and doubtless might easily be made a most healthful situation. I am heartily glad that the New York City Colonization Society have fixed upon this place as the foundation of their Colony. It will seem as another bulwark against those fiendlike prowlers after human flesh and blood, and will afford increasing facilities for civilizing and Christianizing the interior tribes.

We were received kindly by our brethren and friends in the Colony, who had been long expecting us, even ever since the death of brother Cox.

When we arrived, we found much to be done, and more than enough to occupy all of our time. The mission house is much decayed, but we are able to occupy it at present; however, it must be very thoroughly repaired soon, or we shall not be able possibly to live in it during the rainy season. It occupies a pleasant situation, although not so airy a one as some parts of the town.

On the first Sabbath after our arrival, our Presbyterian brethren worshipped with us in the Methodist church, as they have no house of worship in the town. In the morning I addressed a very serious and attentive congregation, as much so as we ever saw in America. At the close of the public service, we administered the Lord's Supper. It was to us a most extremely interesting season, circumstanced as we were in a heathen land, far from home and friends: to meet with a few of the friends of Jesus, and to be permitted to commemorate with them and others, circumstanced as ourselves, the death and sufferings of our common Lord, was indeed refreshing to our souls. It was to me one of the most interesting circumstances of my life. None are prepared fully to appreciate our feelings but those who are or have been similarly situated. On the Wednesday evening following, the principal members of the Church in Monrovia, met at the mission house, by request, and formed themselves into a Sunday School Society, entitled "The Monrovia Sunday School Society, auxiliary to the Sunday School Union of the Methodist E. Church in America." We were happily disappointed in seeing our brethren so much interested in this important institution of the Church. It is but just to say that our brethren here have paid some attention to Sunday schools; but they never had a regular organization, and the school had been for some time discontinued. On the Thursday evening following, we held a quarterly conference, in which we learned, to our sorrow, that the Church was in a very languishing state. The classes are poorly attended, and the brethren seemed to have, in a great measure, given up with their missionary, although there were many who

still prayed for the peace of Jerusalem, and whose languid hopes revived on our arrival. Friday, the 10th, was the day we had appointed for the sitting of the conference. All the members were present, I believe, thirteen in number. The conference sat two days very harmoniously, and transacted some business of great importance to the Church and Colony, and one act of not the least importance was the formation of a *Conference Temperance Society*, and a resolution binding the members to use their influence to procure the formation of temperance societies in every settlement in the Colony. Most of our leading members are convinced of the evil of using and trafficking in ardent spirits; yet they seem at present to see a necessity in the latter, which they hope will soon cease to exist. But while I am so near this subject, I will just say, that although we have been in the Colony almost two weeks, and have been about in town every day since we arrived, yet I have not seen a person in the least intoxicated. The conference passed several important resolutions, which, as they will doubtless be communicated to you officially, I need not here mention. The conference had not been named; it therefore took the name of the "Liberia Annual Conference."

As the Methodist chapel in this town is quite too small, and much decayed, the brethren resolved in quarterly conference to make an effort to build a more commodious church; and subscriptions are being opened to raise as much as possible among the Colonists; and what they cannot do, I design to advance, to assist them. They should be assisted in building a house of worship.

We designed to visit Grand Bassa before we are sick, but this I fear we shall not be able to accomplish; as, if we go, which we can do, it is quite uncertain when we can return; therefore our physician advises us not to go. I have employed a coloured man to go down and labour for the present, until brother Wright, who will take charge of that station, shall be able to enter upon his labours. Brother Liggins, who was appointed to that place by brother Cox, has been called to his reward, as was also brother Francis Devany, of this town. You are aware that brother Cox contracted for the building of a house at Bassa. This was commenced, and a small amount advanced upon it; but upon brother C.'s death it was suspended, as the contractor was unable to proceed upon credit, and labourers would not work without being certain of compensation. I have directed the builder to resume his labours, and to put up and finish the house as soon as possible. I purchased glass in Norfolk, which is forthcoming, and nails, which are here. But all mechanical operations here are exceedingly tardy, as timber is very difficult to be obtained. I regret that it was not in our power to bring out some with us, but this we could not do; however, I think something will soon be done toward putting a saw-mill into operation. I regret too that it has not been possible for either of us to visit the other settlements before our seasoning sickness, but this we could not do. Our time has been too laboriously employed since our arrival in getting our families settled, and in attending to the affairs of the Church, and settling unsettled business, which last is not a little. It appears that brother Cox brought out but little money, designing probably to depend upon drafts and credit, the consequence of which is, there are very many small bills coming in for goods, provisions, services, &c. It cost him without doubt twice or thrice as much as it would had he boarded out; but he did what he evidently thought was best, as he was every week expecting us out, and was sometimes almost impatient of our delay. Many things were purchased for his own and our use, which, after his death, were sold at public auction.—Previously to his death, he directed that certain articles of his own should be returned to America, and others sold on sixty days' credit, among which the other articles above alluded to were included indiscriminately. Although the goods met with a ready sale, yet it is almost impossible to collect any of the money. The man with whom the business was left, has succeeded in collecting \$5 only, and I have to-day collected a note of \$8 20. It is easy to contract debts, but hard to collect them in this place, with few exceptions.—It is to be hoped that it will not always be thus; however, this is even better, or as good at least as could reasonably be expected of a community made up of such materials as compose this Colony.

I feel anxious that something should be done, as speedily as possible, at Grand Cape Mount. There have been hostilities threatened between the slaves occupying the Cape and its vicinity and their masters, but we learn that the differences are now settled for the present; so that it would be safe, and very easy, to establish a mission and schools among them. They are said to be very intelligent, and to manifest a great thirst for knowledge. This being the case, it seems important that an intelligent coloured man be sent them, and a house erected, and a school established, with the least possible delay, anticipating, at the same time, the establishment of the New York Colony.

MARCH 1.—Dear Brethren, I resume my pen to close this communication. Since writing the above, I have felt the pains and anguish of an African fever. This is the twenty-first day since I have been confined to my bed, being able now to sit up but a few minutes at a time. None can form but a faint conception of the miasmal fever of this country unless they have experienced its horrors. I have been more violently attacked than any other one of either family; but by the mercy of a gracious God, I am yet alive; although it is my painful duty to inform you that one of our number has fallen. Sister

Wright is dead! She left us on the morning of the 4th ultimo, at about two o'clock. She had not the exercise of her reason when she died, so we could not know the state of her mind; but we have no doubt she is in heaven, while we are left to suffer yet longer on earth.

The ways of God are mysterious and past finding out; but may we ever be found in the path of duty, ready for our change whenever it shall come. Then death will be gain. I do not know that we could have expected less than the death of one of our number.—But we did expect more. May we be disappointed in regard to this? Probably the work of death is not yet completed among us; however, we have no fears upon the subject. We are in the hands of a just and merciful God, who will do what is best with us.

We have some money, but *we must have more men*. We must have teachers, or we cannot establish schools to any desirable extent. I am so circumstanced that I cannot take charge of a school. Brother Wright will be able to, when he goes down to Bassa.—Mrs. Spaulding will be able to devote but a part of her time to that work. Miss Farrington, I fear, will render the mission but little if any service, as her health is very precarious. We want to establish a *manual labour school* immediately, and we only want for teachers. I think it far better to *secure something* on the coast in the settlements, and then make our way into the interior as fast as possible, rather than extend our labours and *secure* nothing.

R. SPAULDING.

To the Rev. Fitch Reed.

MONROVIA, MARCH 5, 1834.

Dear Sister and Rev. Brothers:—The Lord has brought us safely across the living waters, and has showed us kindness in a land of strangers. But he has seen fit to take one of our number to himself, whose loss we greatly lament. Our much-loved sister Wright is no more, while those less worthy to live are spared. We have all had the fever, and some of us have been dangerously sick, but we are now recovering. I have had three attacks, the two last of which were very severe. During the second, hope nearly failed; and before the fever turned, during the third, pain became so exquisite, and medicine had so little effect, most all despaired of my life. The doctor thought mortification was about taking place in my stomach, and left me without medicine. A few hours after, all the symptoms turned favourably, and the fever left me; since which I have been recovering rapidly. Probably the second attack was occasioned by being moved into a damp room, and the third by being removed from one part of the town into another. The doctor has said it was not possible for my constitution to endure the climate, and advised the missionaries to send me home, which they resolved to do, saying they did not know that the Board would keep me here longer. But I have absolutely refused to go. Though to be cut off by the Board would be somewhat trying, as it would seem like being turned from my father's house; yet should they do it, I resolve to trust. I laid my life on the altar on leaving America, and I am willing that it should remain there. The band which led me to New England, and from there here, will sever the silver cord at the most proper time; and till then death can have no power.

Should burning beams of noon conspire  
To deal a pestilential fire,  
God is our life—His wings are spread  
To shield us with a healthful shade,

Should vapours with malignant breath,  
Rise thick and scatter midnight death,  
Israel is safe: the poison'd air  
Grows pure, if Israel's God be there.

When the children of Israel found themselves enclosed on every side, and the Egyptians pursuing them, it was not wisdom to wish themselves back into Egypt, as they knew the Lord had brought them there. Then was the time to prove the power of faith. Surely the Christian need not be disheartened at seeming impossibilities, when those that were really such (with man) have been encountered by Omnipotence. I see no reason why he should act cowardly, or basely retreat from the field of action, because he has looked at danger. I suppose our grand foe would be glad to drive all from the missionary field, especially in a place like this, where he is worshipped by a whole nation.\*

\* Doubtless you are aware that the natives have stated times to assemble in what they call the Devil's Bush, to carry their offerings, and pay homage to the Devil, or, as they assert, to appease his anger, and make him their friend. They have a select man, whose office it is to feed the Devil. He carries a bowl of palaver sauce (a great dish among them, prepared with rice and palm oil, and a certain leaf with which it is seasoned) every evening. In the morning the bowl is found empty, and the people made to believe the Devil has eaten it.

I see work here for thousands, and wonder that from the vast number of Christians in America no more are found here. Of a truth the harvest is great, but the labourers are few. Millions are waiting for the word of life, many of whom ask for instruction in the "white man's book." The natives in the different towns on the coast are, most of them, anxious to be instructed in our language, and hesitate not to say, "We countrymen be fools, but America man know every thing."

My heart has melted sometimes, during the fever, to see the little native boys come round the bed to be taught the alphabet. About one hundred miles in the interior, is a town of four or five thousand inhabitants, in the dominion of King Boson, who has put himself under the protection of the colony, and requested that his people might be educated, saying, he will do all he can to encourage a school in the town, if white men will go there and establish one. The climate is very healthy there, and the country far more pleasant than here, interspersed with mountains and valleys, with running brooks and larger streams, and numerous springs of cool fresh water, all of which are seldom seen here. When people come from there here, they take the fever, the same as we do from America. The man with whom I board has a son here who spent twelve months there. The natives were perfectly kind to him. This king wrote, a few weeks since, that if the Colony would pay him a trifling sum, he would open the trade for them with a tribe far beyond him, which they design to do. I hope the time is not far distant, when these people will be favoured with missionary exertions among them. I suppose there are difficulties in the way at present; but I should think that power which assisted the Jews when they fought with one hand and laboured with the other, and enabled David to meet the Philistine, or Joshua to stay the sun, would be exerted in behalf of those who would venture to labour there. I am praying for the Lord to send help, but it may be for the want of a better understanding. I have missed some of the privileges of America since I have been here, but have never had one thought of regret that I came, and have never felt more contented and happy in any place. I love my friends that I have left behind, but I love the cause of Christ better. My soul seems fastened as closely to the mission as my spirit does to this clayey tenement. I have suffered but a little inconvenience, save for the want of a faithful nurse and a comfortable bed. I made preparations to bring a bed, but the board of missions at Boston prevented me, saying one would be provided; but the people in the colony can provide board, but not beds. I have had but a blanket for a pillow some of the time, and no outside covering for the bed, and a very uncomfortable bed during the fever; yet such inconveniences are but trifling. I find nothing in the least discouraging.

I will send you a view of Cape Mount drawn with a pencil—have not time to paint it. I wrote below before I concluded to send it.

Our passage from Norfolk here was somewhat lengthy, but pleasant. I was sea sick all the way, but I did not give up to it at all. I stood on deck most of the time, and felt that angels' wings brooded over me, and the shadow of Omnipotence protected me. The captain was surpassingly kind and polite; he spared no pains to make our passage comfortable and pleasant. May the Lord reward him with the salvation of his soul. I drew a view of Cape Mount, as we saw it, for brother Wright, and one of Cape Mesurado, where we lay at anchor, which I designed to send you, but have not been well enough to paint them. I will send you a sheet written in Arabic by a Mohammedan priest, and presented me. He could not interpret it. O how much these people want instruction by one who can speak the Arabic. I find it far more pleasant in the Colony than I expected, and the people more improved.

I have just heard from a campmeeting which commenced here the last Thursday in February, and continued seven days. I am informed there was perfect order, and no more disturbance during the whole than if they had been in church. Forty-five were down upon their knees, and upon the ground crying for mercy at the same time, and about sixty during the day. Every day some were down. Brother Johnson judged there were about one hundred tents, of good size, and well filled. A number found peace; he did not ascertain how many; and the conviction of the others seemed permanent; but they failed for want of labourers. The people turned out so generally to the meeting, which was a few miles from this, that the man with whom I board, having made ready to go, went through the town here, and seeing how many were absent returned, saying it would not do to leave the town so vacant.

I want to see Almira, and learn that she is in the way to heaven. I hope you will write soon, and let me know if you have heard from Cazenovia, or any of my acquaintances, &c. Yours, &c.

SOPHRONIA FARRINGTON.

#### AFRICAN CUSTOMS.

*Extracts from the Liberia Herald.*

"Nothing disgusted us more among those children of nature, than their immoderate love of ardent spirits, and we never witnessed any thing like it before. African customs

made it imperious upon the superintendent of the settlement, to fill the decanter when honored with the royal presence, or that of any man of note; and we never knew any motion made to leave the house, until the last drop had been drained from it; after which, the stirrup or parting cup had to be taken and his majesty's jug to be filled, to treat his wives and friends with, upon his return home that evening. This hard drinking, however, is almost exclusively confined to the great and noble of the land, as it would ill become a poor man to get drunk, as he would, if at home, be sure to commit some breach of the peace, and "catch a palaver," which perhaps might cost him half his substance. I believe further, that it is unlawful for a poor man to get drunk, by himself, according to their law. But the kings and headmen, care not a fig for law or custom, and should a barrel of rum be placed in their hands, they would never see a sober moment till the whole was consumed. King Jo Harris said to me, one day after having performed his usual feast, concerning the decanter, laying his hand on an empty puncheon, "I savey; you man for governor, tell, governor, him send one punch rum for dash we, (meaning kings) top, tell him send two punch, one for me King Jo Harris, me one, and tother for dash all country gentlemen." They are literally crazy after rum, and no business or trade of importance can be discussed until the preliminaries are settled by a jug of rum being placed before the parties. When foreign rum cannot be obtained, they are in the habit of drinking large quantities of palm wine, which is produced from the palm tree, and is of a very intoxicating nature.

We find the following account of the interment of "King Tom Bassa, of little Bassa, a prince remarkable for his good sense, moderation and love of justice.

"Two bullocks were slain, one placed at the head and the other at the foot of the grave, into which were also put two large chests of dry goods, in the same position, also one high post bedstead and mattress, a present from a slave; then the corpse dressed after civilized mode with a hat, two umbrellas and shoes, then a kettle of rice; two large pots of rice, one at the head and the other at the foot; two large looking glasses in the same position: coral beads, pipes, tobacco, mugs, decanters, wash hand-basins, swords, cutlasses and one hundred native mats, when a general fill up took place. Outside of the grave was placed a large slave pot to receive donations from the pious."

"As soon as his death was known, a general lamentation took place throughout the country; and, it is said, every absentee is obliged to perform this cry, no matter how many years elapsed before he returns to his country—it being viewed in the light of a religious duty. It must have been an affecting sight indeed, to see a whole nation bewailing the loss of their father king; but outward lamentations are mere forms, which all nations adopt on such occasions; and the Bassa people were shortly after seen indulging themselves in the firing of guns and drinking to excess, with the greatest nonchalance in the world, all too in honor of the deceased."

The Herald has the following paragraph in relation to the religious tenets of the natives:

"We know but little of the religious belief of the Bassa nations. They seem to have a confused idea, of a good spirit, who made all things, but they appear to reverence far more an evil spirit or devil. They believe that in another world men will follow the same pursuits that they do in this. They believe in witchcraft and charms, and so highly are those manufactured by the Mandingoes prized, that no money will tempt them to sell their principal gregrees. The Mandingoes, in order to increase the sale of their gregrees, do not hesitate to assure them that no charm can reach them while they wear them about their necks. One had the assurance to say to us, that his was powerful enough to shield him from the effects of a cannon ball, and it was under this belief, that in our first native war, the bravest of them would rush up to the cannon's mouth, though loaded, and foolishly embrace it. Before you enter any town, you can generally see some gregree hanging over the main path, and before their houses, but whether dedicated to good or evil spirits, we know not."

#### FOURTH OF JULY.

We again invite the attention of the friends of Colonization to the essential importance of their using every effort to obtain liberal aid to the Society on the ensuing Fourth of July. The Reverend Clergy, especially, who have heretofore been so efficient on similar occasions, will, it is hoped, find additional incentives to their philanthropic zeal in the appeal published in the last number of the Repository.

The following article is subjoined from the Vermont Chronicle of May 30th:—

**COLONIZATION SOCIETY.**—The Fourth of July is at hand; and lest the noise that has been made and the diverse questions that have been raised of late about the Colonization Society and its doings, should cause any to forget its claims upon them as patriots, philanthropists, and Christians, for active co-operation *at this time*, it is our purpose to bring those claims before our readers a little more distinctly and fully than we should otherwise have thought desirable. We accordingly publish Mr. Hubbard's letter. And we shall endeavor before the day for the annual contribution arrives, to show, with as little reference as may be to existing controversies, in what light the enterprise ought to be viewed by the good people of Vermont.

For this week we will only submit, for consideration, certain acknowledgements in favor of the Society, lately made by one of its prominent opposers. Mr. Charles Stuart, who has been its most diligent and determined opposer in England, and who has just arrived in this country, to join hands with Anti-Colonizationists here, not long since wrote a letter to the Editor of the London Herald of Peace, from which the following is copied:—

"But is there nothing good, then, in the American Colonization Society? Yes, there is, —1st. For Africa it is good. It interrupts the African slave trade within its own limits; and the least interruption to that nefarious traffic is an unspeakable good. 2d. For the few coloured people who prefer leaving their native country and emigrating to Africa, it is unquestionably a great blessing. 3d. To the slaves, whose slavery it has been, or may be, the means of commuting to transportation, it is a blessing, just in as far as transportation is a lesser evil than slavery; and this is by no means a trifling good. 4th. But its highest praise, and a praise which the writer cordially yields to it, is the fact, that it forms a new centre; whence, as from our Sierra Leone, and the Cape of Good Hope, Civilization and Christianity are radiating through the adjoining darkness. In this respect, no praise can equal the worth of these settlements."

Can any impeachment of the *motives and feelings* of the friends of Colonization, have the weight of a feather against these admissions, with any sane and honest mind? Let any one who has heretofore contributed to this cause, ask himself whether he has not done it for the accomplishment of such objects as Mr. Stuart admits to be good, and whether in all honesty and fairness, he must not suppose his fellow-labourers to have been, all along, actuated by motives as pure and worthy as his own.

## INTELLIGENCE.

[From the *Washington (Penn.) Examiner*,  
May 24, 1834.]

### COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION.

On Thursday the 15th day of May, inst. in pursuance of a request or invitation from Mr. M. Sutliff of Philadelphia, Agent for the Anti-Slavery Society, with a view to the establishment of an Anti-Slavery Society in this place, a very large and respectable meeting of the citizens was convened at the Court House, and an address was delivered by Mr. S. explanatory of the designs and in furtherance of the views of the Anti-Slavery Society.—At the close of this address, Mr. Sutliff, who had in the course of his remarks expressed his opposition to the American Colonization Society and contrasted it with the Anti-Slavery Society, took occasion to invite discussions as to the relative merits of the two Societies.—This invitation was accepted by William K. M'Donald, Esq. Professor

of Belles Lettres in Washington College, on behalf of the American Colonization Society; but inasmuch as the evening was far spent, it was concluded to defer the discussion to a future period. Whereupon, on motion of John L. Gow, Esq. Prof. of English Literature in Washington College, the meeting was organized by calling the Rev. D. Elliott to the Chair, and appointing Wm. Baird, Esq. Secretary; and by agreement of the parties an adjournment was made to meet at the Court House on Tuesday evening the 20th of May, inst. at 5 o'clock, P. M.

At the time and place appointed, the meeting again assembled, and being called to order by the Chairman, the following question and order of debate was agreed upon by the parties, viz.

"Which is the preferable plan, that of the Anti-Slavery, or the American Colonization Society, for the abolition of slavery; and

other evils attendant upon the present condition of the coloured population of the U. States?"

"Each speaker to be limited to thirty minutes and to speak alternately."

A very animated discussion then took place which was sustained with ability by both sides for the space of from seventeen to twenty hours at intervals through three successive days.—The views of the Anti-Slavery Society were sustained principally by Mr. Loughhead of Pittsburg, an Agent of the Society, by Mr. Sutliff of Philadelphia, also an Agent of the Society; by Dr. Francis J. Le Moynes, of the borough of Washington, and by Mr. Hamilton. The Colonization Society was advocated by W. K. McDonald, A. M. John L. Gow, Esq. Richard Henry Lee, A. M. and the Rev. W. P. Alrich, A. M. all Professors of Washington College. In the course of the discussion some incidental remarks were offered by Dr. M'Conaughy, President of Washington College, by Isaac Leet, Esq. and some other gentlemen, in favor of the Colonization system.

So great was the interest, excited by the discussion, that, notwithstanding its extreme length, the attention of the audience did not seem to flag, but on the contrary to become more intense; and at the close the house was more crowded than it had been at any former period.

At the termination of the debate, the following resolutions were moved by Isaac Leet, Esq. for the purpose of ascertaining the sense of the meeting on this important and engrossing subject:—

*Resolved*, That this meeting do approve of the plan and operations of the American Colonization Society for colonizing the free people of colour of the United States.

*Resolved*, That a committee of five gentlemen be appointed to make immediate arrangements for reviving the Society in this county, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

After some discussion as to the manner of taking the vote and other incidental matters, the question was loudly called for, and upon being put, both resolutions were carried by overwhelming majorities.

The friends of Anti-Slavery made an effort previous to the passage of these resolutions to exclude from voting any persons who had been formerly members of a Colonization or Anti-Slavery Society. A resolution was offered to this effect and rejected by the meeting.

The following gentlemen were then appointed a committee to make arrangements for reviving the Colonization Society in this county, as provided for in the second resolution, viz:—Isaac Leet, Esq. Alexr. Reed, Esq. Profr. Lee, Dr. M'Conaughy and Profr. Gow.

It was then on motion

*Resolved*, That a statement of the proceedings of the meeting should be published in the newspapers of this county.

The meeting then adjourned.

D. ELLIOTT, Chairman.

WM. BAIRD, Secretary.

[From the Christian Intelligencer.]

NEW YORK YOUNG MEN'S COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

This Society held an interesting meeting on Friday evening, the 23d, in Rev. Dr. Brodhead's Church in Broome street.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Brodhead, after which an interesting letter was read by the President, G. P. Disoway, Esq., from Elliott Cresson, Esq., of Philadelphia, announcing the formation of a similar Society in Philadelphia, and that they had already sent out directions for the purchase of territory at *Bassa Cove*, and were preparing to receive 110 pious Baptist and Methodist slaves, late the property of Dr. Hawes, of Va. Another letter was read from a lady in Alabama, expressing great feeling and interest in the cause.

The following resolution was then offered by Thomas G. Fletcher, Esq. and unanimously adopted:—

*Resolved*, That the recent examinations and discussions in this city, of the relative merits of the immediate emancipation and colonization schemes, have but the more strongly shown the paramount humanity and wisdom in regard to the best interests of our coloured population, of the plans and principles of our Colonization Societies.

Mr. F. accompanied the resolution

by an address, in which he entered at length into the objections urged by the Abolitionists against the scheme of colonization, and in which he successfully demonstrated the wisdom as well as benevolence of the enterprise; showing from what it has already done and is capable of doing, the strong claims it has upon the sympathies of a Christian community.

The following resolution was then offered by B. B. Thatcher, Esq., of Boston, and unanimously adopted:—

*Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society is eminently patriotic, and commends itself to the regards of the young men of our country as admirably adapted to strengthen and perpetuate the Union of the States, as well as promote the best interests of our whole coloured population.

Mr. T. made an interesting address, showing the strong obligation of the North to assist their brethren of the South, in the great work in which the Society is engaged. He was listened to with great interest.

The two following resolutions were then offered by the Rev. Dr. Brodhead, accompanied by a few remarks, and unanimously adopted:—

*Resolved*, That the American Colonization Society was, in the opinion of this meeting, founded in benevolence towards the people of colour, and that its proceedings and success afford the best grounds for hope that the expectations of its friends will be realized in the final elevation and emancipation of the African race.

*Resolved*, That committees be appointed by this Society to obtain subscribers to its Constitution, as well as to solicit donations and contributions required, in aid of supplies to be sent in the Jupiter to Liberia.

The meeting was then addressed with great eloquence and force by Rev. Mr. GURLEY, of Washington City, and after the benediction by Rev. Dr. Brodhead, adjourned.

It is contemplated to hold similar meetings in other churches for the purpose of more fully diffusing light upon this interesting subject, and from which great good may be expected to result.

F.

#### NEW YORK CONFERENCE.

At the late session of the New York Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which

met in the city of New Haven, Conn. on the 7th and adjourned on the 14th of May, the following Report was adopted:—

#### *American Colonization Society.*

*Resolved*, by the New York Annual Conference of the Methodist E. Church, in conference assembled, 1. That this conference view with increasing interest and favor, the truly noble and philanthropic enterprise of colonizing the free people of color of these United States, with their own consent, on the coast of Africa.

2. That the pecuniary and other embarrassments which have attended the operations of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, so far from lessening the confidence of the conference in the practicability and final success of the enterprise, should serve but to increase their interest, and efforts in its behalf.

3. That the measures recently adopted by the Board meet the cordial approbation of the conference, and in their opinion, if the Board is sustained by the public, will soon place the Colony at Liberia in a condition more prosperous than at any former period.

4. That the conference view with deep regret the opposition that has been got up and prosecuted with so much heat against the colonization plan, by men who profess to have the same great object in view as the Colonization Society; viz. *the good of the man of color*. This conference consider that opposition *and the other movements* of the abolitionists, as directly calculated to injure the best interests of colored men, whether bond or free, whether on this side or the other side of the Atlantic—and at the same time, they cannot but apprehend most unfavorable results from such operations to the progress of Christian principles.

5. That, hallowed as Liberia is with the sleeping dust of the first foreign missionaries of the M. E. Church, and identified, as it is, with the holy design of the Church to spread Gospel light and truth, not only upon the coast, but also into the interior of Africa, our Christian sympathies gather around the infant Colony, with an intensity of feeling not to be overcome by opposition, or cooled by time.

6. That each preacher be at liberty to take up collections on or about the 4th of July, for the benefit of the American Colonization Society.

#### COLONIZATION AT METHUEN.

We have received from our worthy correspondent, in Methuen, an account of the formation of a Colonization Society in that flourishing village. Our friends there have engaged in this work with a spirit and zeal worthy of themselves. The meeting at the Society was of an interesting character.—Among those who addressed the meeting, were Messrs. Tracy, Baker, Hackett and McLane, from Andover.—Lowell (Mass.) Evangelist.

## NEW YORK CONTRIBUTIONS.

[From the *National Intelligencer*, May 31.]

The Colonization Society of New York have resolved to raise the sum of two thousand dollars, and place the same at the disposal of the Parent Society, towards furnishing the supplies now urgently required in the Colony of Liberia, and which are to be shipped, if the means of purchasing them can be obtained, by the Jupiter, which is to sail again for Africa in about a week.

The New York Board of Brokers on Friday last voted a donation of one hundred dollars to the Colonization Society, to be expended in the colonial supplies to be shipped by the Jupiter.

**CAPE PALMAS.**—An Address of the Board of Managers of the Maryland Colonization Society, has been recently published, containing the particulars of the purchase for a

place of settlement at Cape Palmas on the Coast of Africa. It appears that they have succeeded in acquiring the title of about 400 square miles—extending along the coast about twenty miles, and about the same distance in the interior. It embraces the Cape and Harbor—the latter of which is said to be the best on the coast from Sierra Leone to Fernando Po. This settlement is said to be high and healthy, without any stagnant pools or morasses about it. The soil is rich and the waters stocked with abundance of fine oysters and fish. It was paid for with merchandise, to the exclusion of ardent spirits—and a stipulation made by the Society to establish, within one year, three free schools for the benefit of the native children, in three of the principal towns. The disposition of the natives is friendly and their desire for improvement strong.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

To the Am. Col. Society in the month of May, 1834.

*Gerrit Smith's first Plan of Subscription.*

Judge Porter, New Orleans, . . . . . \$100

*Collections from Churches.*

Harrison, Indiana, in Rev. Mr. Schofield's Church, . . . . . 4

Schenectady, New York, from Presbyterian Church, by Rev. J. T. Backus, . . . . . 80

*Auxiliary Societies.*

Fredericksburg Auxiliary Society, by Rev. Mr. Chester, . . . . . 37

Virginia Auxiliary Society, by B. Brand, Treasurer, . . . . . 400

Troy (Miami Co. Ohio) Auxiliary Society, by Micaiah Fairfield, . . . . . 26

*Donations.*

Rev. Daniel Baker, Savannah, Georgia, . . . . . 5

First Presbyt'n. Sunday School in Alleghanytown, Pa. by Rev. John Newlan, . . . . . 62

Mrs. Washington, Mount Vernon, . . . . . 20

*African Repository.*

Miss Lucy Payne, Goochland, Va. . . . . 2

Micaiah Fairfield, Troy, Miami Co. Ohio, . . . . . 3

*Collections in Albany, New York, in part of a proposed subscription of \$3,000 for the purpose of sending ONE HUNDRED TEMPERANCE EMIGRANTS of unexceptionable character to Liberia, to be established in a village or town to be called "Albany;" transmitted by*

JOHN T. NORTON, Esq.

Cortland Van Rensselaer, . . . . . \$150

Ladies in First Presbyt'n. Church \$90; J. & J. Townsend \$60; . . . . . 150

Eustus Corning \$50; Gideon Hawley \$25; Jason Page \$20; . . . . . 95

John Willard, Stephen J. Ridar, James Denniston, James

Gould, Galen Batchelder, E. P. & J. H. Prentice, Ambrose

Spencer, Philip S. Van Rensselaer, Joel Rathbone, Aaron

Thorp, James Boren, Israel Smith, Christian Miller, each \$30; . . . . . 390

Henry L. Webb, Friend Humphrey, Russell Forsyth, John A.

Dix, William Lallarcy, Thomas W. Olcott, David Wood,

Edwin Crosswell, James King, Harmanus Bleecker, D. D.

Barnard, each \$15; . . . . . 705

Rev. E. N. Kirk, Rev. Alonzo Potter, Ladies of South Dutch

Church, John O. Cole, each \$10, . . . . . 40

A friend, by Rev. E. N. Kirk, Richard Yates, Bradford R.

Wood, Levi Hubbell, J. P. Cassady, George Dexter, J. Mc-

Clure, Philip Phelps, P. H. Ostrander, Theodore Olcott, R.

Winslow, Paul Roberts, Joseph Sherno, Peter Boyd, J. Alex-

ander, Jesse Buel, each \$5; . . . . . 80

Mr. Pemberton \$3; Cash \$3; Chauncey Johnson \$2; Mr. Jones

\$2; Sidney Guest \$1; Samuel Watson \$1; Cash 75 cts.; Cash

25 cts.; Cash \$1.50; Preston Sheldon \$1; a little girl 25 cts.;

Wm. McElroy \$1; Interest \$1.54; Cash \$5; . . . . . 23 29 — 1093 29

THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,  
AND  
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

VOL. X.]

AUGUST, 1834.

[No. 6.]

THE REV. MR. PHELPS' LECTURES.

THE Rev. Amos H. Phelps of Boston, in his Lectures on slavery, defines it "to be an assumed right of property in man; or it is the principle admitted in theory and acted on in practice, that in some cases, each individual being his own judge in the case, it is lawful to hold property in man." He says—"by holding man as property, I mean holding him without any will or consent of his own, more than if he were a mere animal, or an inanimate thing, such as an axe a hoe. I mean, moreover, holding him thus, when, like an item of property he is guilty of no crime, by which, in the regular operation of equitable laws, his liberty has been forfeited."

Mr. Phelps' object is to prove that slavery is in all circumstances and all cases, a sin. And doubtless he believes his very definition of it shows that it is so. Our opinion is, that all that, in existing slavery, which implies on the part of the slaveholder a violation of the perfect law of Christ, is sin: but that many things entering into Mr. Phelps' definition (if not all) do not necessarily imply sin in some cases; and therefore that his argument based upon it cannot sustain the doctrine of instant, unconditional, and complete emancipation.

The sin in slavery thus defined lies not necessarily in the fact that "each individual" judges of his own duty either to himself or another. So far as duty lies in motive, every man is under law to God and to none beside.—He is ever (under God) judge in his own case of duty, whether it respect himself or others. And in regard to his conduct towards his fellow man, (except where such conduct is prescribed by human laws, or by some power controlled,) he is also judge, responsible only to his conscience and God. Nor does the sin of slavery so defined lie necessarily in the fact that men are held without their will or consent; for children, minors and those who cannot be trusted with freedom, are restrained without their consent. Nor does the sin lie necessarily in holding them as property (in one sense); or in that they are so held while guilty of no crime, for children and apprentices are of pecuniary advantage to those who provide for them; and they are so, while guilty of no crime, but in this alone, is there necessarily sin, that they are held as mere property, and not regarded as men, to be treated as capable, and when qualified as entitled, to all the privileges of humanity. The sin lies here alone, that in not fulfilling towards them the law of Christ and treating them as we would be treated in an exchange of circumstances.

And will Mr. Phelps say that there are not, may not be, hundreds and thousands of slaveholders at the South who regard their slaves as men, not as brutes or chattels, but as men against whose interests no pecuniary advantage is to be weighed in the balance?

The writer of this, has no disposition to defend or excuse any thing in the Institution of which we speak, that is contrary to the rule of Christ; in his opinion, the system is totally wrong as a permanent Institution; but admitting only of a cautious and gradual remedy. The time necessary benevolently to remove it, may be innocently taken; but the wisdom and pity of the South cannot too soon commence measures for its removal.

### THE POWER OF PREJUDICE.

No man in this country has had more to say against the power of prejudice, than our editorial brother, Wm. Lloyd Garrison; and yet we never knew a more palpable exemplification of its power, than he has furnished in the statement below:—

*"Vermont Chronicle.*

"Rev. Joseph Tracy has retired from the editorial management of this egotistical and pernicious publication. For the sake of the cause of humanity, of truth and of righteousness, we heartily rejoice at his abdication. We have been unable to perceive in his lucubrations any marks of genius, originality or candor. We have scorned to answer his paltry quibbling and vain-glorious sophistry. He is succeeded by his brother, who recently edited the Recorder of this city. We need not write his character."

Now, whatever may be said of Mr. Tracy's opinions, it is universally granted that no editor in the United States has shown more ability in maintaining them than he has done. His eminent "genius and originality" we never before heard questioned. Now we are among those who believe that "prejudice is not invincible," either toward coloured men or white. And we recommend to the editor of the Liberator to make an experiment in this very case; and if he succeeds, he will have furnished a demonstration, which no mortal can gainsay.—*Western Recorder.*

### SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT.

In the March number of the African Repository for the present year, was published a Report of a Committee of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, prepared in compliance with a Resolution which had been adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Society held in the January preceding, calling for detailed information concerning the Society's debt; and in the May number, a Resolution of the Board, stating that certain accounts and vouchers had recently arrived from the Colony, and instructing the same Committee to prepare an additional Report. This has accordingly been done. The importance of the elaborate document thus prepared, and the known desire of the friends of the cause to see it without any avoidable delay, have induced us, in order to make room for it in the present number, to exclude other matter already in type. The supplemental Report and the proceedings connected with it, are as follows:—

*Extract from the Journal of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society,  
July 24, 1834.*

WALTER LOWRIE, Esq. from the Committee to whom was referred the resolution adopted at the Annual Meeting, and also the resolution of the Board, of the 8th of May last, made the following report:—

"That the Report of the Committee of the 20th of February last, was limited to a statement of the aggregate amount of the Society's debt,—a comprehensive view of the expenses of the Colony,—the general causes by which the debt was produced,—and an exposition of the principles by which the Board would be governed in their future operations. The Committee regret that in preparing this Report, the absence of the Secretary of the Society,—first at New York, and at present, in Virginia, that without interruption he may finish the biography of Ashmun, has deprived them of the aid of his talents and experience.

The following is a detailed statement of the debt of the Society as it existed at the last Annual Meeting:—

	D.	C.
John Hanson's draft in favor of Grant and Stone, for the charter of the brig Hercules—due last June,		9,217 50
A. and S. Ralston's do in their own favor, for supplies in June,		495 87
Alex. Read's do do for do do,		589 45
Girse and Kirkhouse's do do for do do,		1396 62
Anselm and Hatch's do in favor of C. and J. Barstow, for charter of the brig Roanoke—due in August,		2870
Three drafts of Dr. Mechlin, for supplies due in May,		1200
Three do do for do June,		591 96
Four do do for do August and September,		1921 77
Thomas Bell's draft in favor of N. Potts for 100 barls. pork in the America, due in September,		1209
Dr. Mechlin's draft in favor of Wm. Peters, for freight and supplies by the Jupiter, due in October,		1811
Eight do for supplies in October and November,		1850 27
One do for do in do,		192
One do in favor of R. and F. Allen and Co. for supplies, due in Jan. 1830,		2479 41
Three drafts of N. Potts, in his own favor, for do, due in Jan. and February,		1600
Thomas Bell's draft in favor of Smith Anderson, for part charter of the Argus, due in March,		1160
Do do May,		2000
Four do for supplies sent in the Argus, due in March,		1729 87
Two do of N. Potts, in his own favor, for supplies due in March,		999 50
T. Bell's draft in favor of W. Peters for do May,		316 4
Six of Dr. Mechlin's drafts in payment of salaries at the Colony,		2377 29
Dr. Hall's draft for his salary, January,		1320 72
John Hanson's claims for supplies furnished to the Colony by Waring and Co. Cheeseman and others, and for sundry orders taken up at the Colony,		5364 68
Balance due to Dr. Mechlin, agreeably to his statement,		997 53
Navy Department for the Agency House,		626
Estate of James Ramsay, Baltimore, for supplies,		58 60
James C. Dunn for printing,		1075
Sundry unsettled accounts,		696 14
		<hr/> \$45,645 72

In their former Report, the Committee submitted various facts and circumstances, showing the causes and manner of the rise and increase of the Society's debt. These, it is not intended to recapitulate in this Report.—But in addition to the list given above, the Committee have thought it would be satisfactory to have the expenditures placed under distinct heads, showing the amount for the last four years expended under each. In this manner the resolution of the Annual Meeting will be complied with in the only manner in which it is practicable.

To prepare this tabular statement, the Committee have, with great care, and at the expense of much time and labor, examined the papers on the files of the office, as well as those received in June last, from the Colony, by the Jupiter, relating to the expenditures for the last four years. Every account, voucher, order or receipt, has been separately examined and placed under the appropriate head, as far as these various papers afforded the means of specific designation.

<i>Expenditures in the U. S.</i>	1830.	1831.	1832.	1833.	<i>Amount.</i>
Salaries of Secrs. Ck. & Tr.	\$1,400	\$1,400	\$2,170 79	\$2,800 61	\$7,771 40
Agencies in the U. States,	1,498 37	1,508 71	2,467 82	1,312 49	6,782 36
Collecting Emigrants,	338 91	106 62	786 41	53	1,284 94
Supplies for the Colony,	6,289 98	5,178 71	14,428 32	15,049 62	40,946 63
Transn. & supply on voyage,	759	3,950	14,797 95	2,133 33	21,640 28
Colonial Agent & Physicians,	1,016 62	2,525 22	2,435 13	6,652 8	12,629 5
Printing,	964 35	3,503 58	3,306 30	4,003 83	11,798 06
Office rent, stat'y & contgt,	491 28	498 63	747 76	1,203 34	2,941 6
Support of medical students,	520 50	327 1	1,089 3	1,974 70	3,911 24
Cost & outfit of schr. M. Mer.		4,811 26			4,811 26
<i>Expenditures in Liberia.</i>					
Officers of the Colony,	3,018 65	5,215 33	6,394 91	2,324 61	16,953 40
Buildings and repair, includ- ing purchase of A. House,	156 75	1,348 42	526 12	1,281 76	3,313 5
Lumber,	47 41	60 29	2,486 90	522 4	3,116 64
Labor,	80 44	234 62	2,648 83	504 8	3,467 97
House and store rent,			353	554 12	912 12
Arms and warlike stores,	226 75	620 55	1,726 68	338 25	2,912 23
Expense of Schooners,	805 18	802 48	1,682 18	1,989 30	4 679 14
Boat, canoe hire & expense,	3 50	162 49	121 50	284 51	572
Nursing sick, washing and boarding,	424 53	598 90	1,214 29	507 12	2,744 84
Funeral expenses,	41 19	168	429 43	297 48	936 10
Purchase and founding G. Bassa,			2,120 26	623 52	2,743 78
Court expenses,	343 19	19 62			362 81
House exps. (no vouchers),	655 46	1,742 87	780 78		3,179 11
Agency exps. (no vouchers),	2,085 11	4,788 62	5,182 49		12,056 22
Do for Caldwell, do,			2,765 81		2,765 81
Exped'n against the Dey's, Orders, and receipts for what purpose not specified,	446 35	5,256 14	3,444 56	3,380 90	12,527 95
Freight paid in Colony,			675	1,798 57	2 473 57
Provisions, pur. in Colony,	874 90	1,576 9	4,039	4,139 65	10,629 64
Trade goods, do,	615 39	335 41	3,886 21	1,238 15	6,075 16
<i>Total,</i>	28,118 81	46,739 52	83,060 15	54,367 6	207,285 54

The loose and unsatisfactory manner in which the accounts and vouchers have been returned from the Colony, may be seen in the instructions to the Agent in the June number of the Repository, where the papers received by the Jupiter are referred to. By the particular examination, given by the Committee to every paper, they have been enabled to arrange the various expenditures more to their satisfaction, than was at first deemed possible. The large class, however, in the tabular statement, under the head of "orders and receipts, for what purpose not specified," cannot be explained without further information from the Colony; and the Committee have little hope of receiving much additional information respecting them. It is proper to remark, however, that the papers for this class are defective only in specifying the purpose for which they were given. They contain the date, the sum, the name of the person to whom given, and his receipt, and in most cases the approval of the Agent in his own handwriting.

The three items, under the heads of "house expenses," "agency expenses," and "agency expenses for Caldwell," are without vouchers. For 1830 and 1831, the charge is made up by a single line. For 1832, the particulars are stated in a long and detailed account, specifying every item, the time when, and the person to whom paid, and for what purpose. The most of the account is made up of provisions, stores, medicine, &c. issued to the emigrants, and charged on the books of the store; and for supplies for the agency house, as well as articles of furniture, charged in the same manner. For 1832, the Committee are satisfied with this detailed statement. For 1833, no statement or papers have been returned.

The expenses of the schooner are quite indefinite and unsatisfactory.— No regular account appears to have been kept, showing the profit or loss of the different voyages.

The item for arms and warlike stores, is also unexplained. The purchases appear to have been made, but what proportion was for the use of the Colony, or what for the trade with the natives, is not stated. The Committee trust this will be the last time, when such articles will enter into their trade with the native tribes. But this is not the only or the most exceptionable article of that trade. It is with the deepest pain that the Committee have to notice another, more destructive, and in Africa second only to the slave trade itself, in its withering and blasting effects on every thing dear to man; but which, it is believed, is now, for the first time, brought to the knowledge of the Board. During the last four years, 1,857 gallons of brandy, whisky and rum, placed by the Committee under the item of trade goods, have been *purchased in the Colony*; the most of which, as the Committee have been informed by the late Agent, has been used in the native trade. The Committee have no language in which to express their deep regret, that such an element of trade should have been carried on with the benighted natives by the Agents of the Society. Should any ask why the Committee have noticed this painful circumstance? The answer is given, by the explicit statement of the Board heretofore made, that they have no concealments; and even without that pledge the truth required its exposure. But whilst the fact is thus made public, the Committee submit, whether the very exposition does not afford the surest and the strongest pledge, on the part of the Board, that a traffic, so destructive of every hope for the regeneration of Africa, and of the best interest, if not the very existence of the Colony, shall cease.

An item of expenditure, unprofitable to a great extent, is found in the support of the colored medical students. This measure at first was one of much promise. But Washington Davis, Page C. Dunlop and James H. Fleet, for whose education large sums were expended, have refused to fulfil their engagements. They have chosen to remain here, in violation of obligations the most sacred, unwilling and unable to restore the sums expended for their education from the funds of a benevolent institution. But the conduct of the other students, has been so far the reverse of all this.— Charles H. Webb has gone out in the Jupiter to Liberia, where he will finish his medical education under the care of Dr. Skinner, with the prospect of great benefit to the Colony. William Taylor, a young man of much promise, and possessing the esteem and confidence of the Board, is still pursuing his medical studies under their care.

It remains for the Committee to make some remarks explanatory of the tabular statement.

The amount of expenditures appears to be \$207,285 54. This, however, is only apparent, because two items are twice brought into the charge. For instance, the supplies for the Colony are charged first in the aggregate \$40,946 63; but part of these are charged again in payment for labor, house rent, lumber, &c. So of the provisions and trade goods purchased in the Colony, \$5,377 80. These two sums make \$46,324 43; and when deducted from \$207,285 54, leave the sum of \$160,961 11.

The amount collected for four years by the Society is,	\$132,190 20
To which add the Society's debt,	45,645 70

Sum to be accounted for,	\$177,835 92
From which deduct the specified expenditures,	160,961 11

A balance is left of	\$16,874 81
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This balance is accounted for, by the fact, that for the support of 1,598 emigrants sent in this period to the Colony, for provisions, stores, medicine, &c. there are only found charges in what is called "agency expenses," amounting to \$14,822 03, a sum quite too small for their support.—The above balance added to this sum will give for that item \$31,696 84, which is less than twenty dollars for the personal expenses of each emigrant, after his arrival at the Colony.

The receipts and disbursements, for the present year, will, of course, be submitted to the Society at their Annual Meeting. The Committee will not anticipate that report by any detailed statement at present. Five months ago the Board informed their friends, that the affairs of the Society had come to a crisis. It is with the deepest gratitude to Divine Providence, and with the sincerest pleasure, that they can now state, that the crisis has passed, and the cause remains uninjured. When in February last, this Committee made their first report, many appearances were discouraging; but now these discouragements are gone. The exposition therein given of the principles by which the Board would be governed, has received the cordial and unanimous approbation of the friends of the cause in every section of the Union. At no time, it may safely be asserted, has the Colonization cause, when conducted on the principles therein stated, been more firmly rooted in the hearts and judgments of our most enlightened citizens.

When the Committee say there are no discouragements, they do not mean to say that they are free from embarrassment. During the pecuniary distress under which the community generally was suffering, it was not to be expected that the Society could discharge the heavy responsibilities incurred under the too extended operations of former years. But the Colony is now, for a year, beyond the reach of want. The Board have dissolved their connection with Dr. Tolsen. But Dr. Skinner, a skilful Physician from Connecticut, Dr. McDowall, a young colored Physician from Scotland, highly recommended to the Board, and hereafter Mr. Webb, will supply the medical wants of the Colony. Aided principally by the noble generosity of their friends in New York, the Board have been enabled to send such supplies as will leave them at liberty for some months to come to devote their means to the discharge of their debts. The large legacies due to the Society, will, when received, much reduce their debt; and every thing in the power of the Board will be done, to make satisfactory arrangements with their creditors, so that their funds may be left at liberty to carry forward the various measures proposed for the benefit of the Colony.

In the mean time it is most encouraging to know, that while the Parent Board are engaged in relieving themselves from embarrassment, the cause is still advancing. The ladies of New York have sent out additional teachers and ample funds for their support, while the ladies of Philadelphia continue their efficient aid to the same most vital object. The Albany Colonization Society have furnished the Board with means for the commencement of a settlement of temperance emigrants, to be called Albany, and instructions, and part of the means furnished, have gone to the Agent for the immediate beginning of preparatory measures. From the State Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, heretofore one of their most efficient Auxiliaries, the Board have assurances of efforts to procure funds to build up and sustain the interests of the Colony.

But the beneficent operations in favor of the cause, do not stop here.—Although the Parent Board have been unable to be the instruments of giving liberty to the slaves whose freedom depends on their removal, their place has been supplied by the zealous and enterprising efforts of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania. They have engaged

to send out, with full and adequate supplies, more than 100 slaves, whose freedom depends on their going to Liberia. Here the Committee must pause for a moment, to compare the beneficent course of this Society, with the course of another Society, which claims to be the exclusive and only friend of the colored man. The one has said a great deal, and much of it in no friendly tone, about equal and unalienable rights, just as if we lived in a world of abstractions. The other has made very little noise, and what it has said, has been words of peace and truth; but it has *acted*; and it now presents the community with the spectacle of more than 100 freemen, who, but for it, would still have been slaves. And 1000 more are waiting, merely till the Parent Board, or its Auxiliaries, possess the means to place them as freemen in the same company. We call upon the many excellent men in the ranks nominally of our opponents, to consider these things. We speak not to the partizans, or to their editors, and the would-be leaders, in their ranks. To them we have nothing to say; but of them we do say, that we fear them not. They have already done us much good by their many grievous and hard speeches; and their treatment of this report, when they receive it, and especially of this part of it, will hereafter do us much more.

The distressing and painful loss which the Colony and Africa in general have sustained by the recent deaths of so many devoted and excellent men and women, has been felt by the Board with the deepest sensibility. But even in this painful dispensation of Divine Providence, there is no permanent element of discouragement. That the Colony will advance, if none but colored men go there, is most certain. But to lay the foundation of society on the principles of civil and religious liberty, and to assist in building up a native agency in the Colony and among the surrounding tribes, the aid of suitable white men is greatly needed. In view of these important considerations, the Board, after mature deliberation, have decided to have their whole territory explored with reference to a more healthful situation in the interior, in addition to the present settlements, and at a proper distance from the margin of the streams. It is also their intention to have the interior beyond their limits explored, with a view to ascertain the distance and location of the high lands, and the course and distance of the mountains. They are convinced of the vital importance to Africa, and to the Colony, to have pious, able and enlightened men stationed there as missionaries. From the facts in the possession of the Board, they have great hopes of succeeding in finding a situation healthful to the white man. In that event, the respected boards of missions could, with renewed encouragement, recommence their most benevolent operations.

Among the first meetings of the present Board, it was decided, that they would keep the public advised of the true state of their affairs, both in the United States and at the Colony, as far as the truth was known to them. On this determination they have faithfully acted, and this report and that of February last, give evidence that they have done so. In the letters of Captain Voorhees and Mr. Pinney, were many painful truths in reference to the condition of the Colony. But the Board did not hesitate a moment in publishing these communications entire, because they were satisfied from the high character of the writers, that they contained the truth. The Board are also anxious to extend the subscription of the Liberia Herald in the U. States; its columns will, to a certain extent, give authentic information of what is passing there.

With the disposition on the part of the Board, thus evidenced, the friends of the cause may rest assured, that as far as the Board possess information, be it good or bad, the truth shall be laid before them. This course steadily persisted in, will soon render useless the labors of their op-

ponents, in procuring and making public, with so much parade, letters from disappointed and dissatisfied colonists,—garbled extracts of letters from others, not intended for publication,—and in getting up prepared and exparte depositions, and labored and preconcerted interrogatories.”

On motion, the foregoing report was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published in the August number of the *African Repository*.

W. W. SEATON, *President, pro tempore*.

Attest:

P. R. FENDALL, *Recorder*.

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*From the Millennial Trumpeter, Maysville, Tenn. July 5.*

#### ABOLITION.

The friends of the Abolition Society labour industriously to impress on the minds of the public, that the Colonization Society meets with small encouragement from the opposers of slavery in the Southern and Western States. Every paragraph or word spoken against the Colonization Society, meets from them a hearty welcome, and is echoed from mouth to mouth and print to print throughout the country. There seems to be a spirit of hostility to the friends of Colonization reigning in the breasts of abolitionists, that totally annihilates every charitable feeling. This spirit of rivalry and self-aggrandizement, has so weakened their efforts against the primary object, i. e. the extinction of slavery, that a common observer would think they were merely opponents of the Colonization Society. We observe that a Mr. Thom of Kentucky, in a speech delivered before a Society at the North, has endeavoured to strengthen this belief, that the friends of Colonization were few in number, in the Mississippi Valley, and what there was, were weak in faith and silent in devotion. Where he got his authority for making these assertions we know not. The tocsin of dissension from the evils of Slavery has been sounded loud enough in the Mississippi Valley to be heard by all who have their ears open to the subject. And, all who impartially look at the excuses made and grounds assumed, by the advocates of Slavery, must admit that *immediate and unconditional* emancipation will never be sanctioned by the people. If the Abolition Society has friends in the West, many of them are mock friends, who while they speak in its favor, only do so that Slavery may be perpetuated. They are aware that the people will never permit the negroes to be unconditionally liberated among them, and therefore they countenance the Abolition attempt, lest the Colonization Society, which so well meets the views and opinions of the people, should ultimately effect the object they wish to prevent. We profess to know the sentiments of a majority of the people in Tennessee at least, and we fear not to hazard the assertion that every effort made by Abolitionists is only riveting the chains of Slavery more firmly on the slave. Even those who bewail the condition of the slaves, when they look around them and see the multitude of human beings that have so long been in bondage, would shudder at the idea of throwing off the yoke, without first preparing their minds to bend to civil authority, and their hearts to be governed by the Father of Peace. Again, there are many who oppose slavery for no other purpose than that of getting entirely rid of the whole African race. Lastly, we say to our northern Abolition friends, if they are sincere in their wishes for the welfare of the slaves in the Mississippi Valley, to cease their efforts to obtain immediate emancipation, and cease their attempts to impede the progress of the American Colonization Society.

## REVIEW:

KAY'S TRAVELS IN CAFFRARIA.—CONTINUED FROM P. 146.

[From the *Edinburgh Review*, January 1834.]

*Travels and Researches in Caffraria: describing the character, Customs, and Moral Condition, of the Tribes inhabiting that portion of Southern Africa: With historical and topographical Remarks, illustrative of the State and Prospects of the British Settlement on its Borders, the introduction of Christianity, and the Progress of Civilization.* By STEPHEN KAY, Corresponding Member of the South African Institution. 12mo. London: 1833.

The Caffers are passionately fond of hunting, and pursue with ardour, not only the antelopes which inhabit their woods and mountains, but also the buffalo, the lion, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, and the elephant. The latter animal they sometimes assail for several days before they can destroy him.

The system of government among these tribes is of a very simple patriarchal character; resembling, in many points, that of our Highland clans in ancient times. The chieftainship is hereditary, though the succession does not always follow in a regular course, according to the European laws of primogeniture. The chief usually names his successor from among the children of his principal wife, who is always a female of high lineage, and generally taken from another tribe. The principal wives of the Amakosa chiefs, for instance, are mostly of the noble blood of Amatembu and Amaponda. The great chiefs are considered absolute sovereigns in their respective clans; but their arbitrary power is practically restrained, in all at least that relates to public affairs; nothing of importance is decided upon without the council of the leading men of the tribe, and captains of villages, who are selected generally from the wealthiest, the wisest, or the bravest of the horde. These men are termed *amapagati*, i. e. elders or counsellors. In all great questions of peace or war, a public council is held, at which all the warriors attend, and where the leading men deliver their sentiments with great freedom and animation. But on more ordinary occasions, such as disputes between individuals, or the trial of offenders, the Chief, assisted by a certain number of his *amapagati*, sits as judge, the counsellors forming a species of rude jury. The traditional usages and customs of the nation form their code of laws. Of these African courts of justice, the following account has been given by the intelligent Missionary, Mr. Brownlee, whose notes on the Amakosa Caffers are appended to Mr. Thompson's Travels:—'When offences are committed, or disputes occur, and the matter cannot be settled by the interference of friends, it is brought by the aggrieved party before his chieftain's court. Those concerned are immediately summoned to appear before a public meeting of the tribe or clan. The place where the meetings are convened, is usually the cattle kraal of the horde or village; but if the weather be very warm, they sometimes assemble under the shade of the trees in some neighbouring wood. The parties concerned sit at the entrance of the kraal or place of assembly; the rest take their station in a circle within; but women are not allowed to enter, and only a few of the oldest and most respectable persons speak. When the matter is of great importance, the most profound attention is paid. The speakers rise in succession with the greatest decorum, and make long and animated harangues, until all sides of the subject have

been fully considered and discussed. After this, the chief, who acts as president of the court, gives his opinion, and refers it to the consideration of the assembly, who either concur in his opinion, or assign their reasons for dissent. Sometimes an important cause is kept pending for several days; but this is not generally the case,—for, as there are no fees for the advocates, the length of the process does not increase the costs.—(Vol. ii, p. 349.) Mr. Kay, on the same subject, makes the following observations:—

‘The Caffer chiefs are in all cases both legislators and judges, whilst “the old men” and favourite courtiers form a kind of jury and council too. The parties appear personally, plead their own cause, and produce their witnesses and proofs.’—‘In their public harangues, a man is seldom interrupted, although his speech be continued for hours together; but during this time his antagonist is all attention: when he rises to reply, every argument that has been adduced is taken up in the exact order in which it was delivered, and with as much precision as if answered at the very moment. Memory is their only note book; and although apparently put, on many occasions, to the severest test, they seldom seem to labour under any material difficulty in bringing up all the details of the subject by the astonishing powers of recollection. Their language, on those occasions, is generally strong and nervous, and their manner exceedingly manly and dignified. Even the children, when about to reply to the most simple questions, step forward, throw back the head, and extend the arm; and give to their words a full, slow, and clear enunciation.’—P. 154.

It is curious to remark, that Major Laing, in describing the judicial customs of the Soolimas of north-western Africa, gives an account almost exactly corresponding with the above description furnished by these two Caffer Missionaries. Nor is this the only point of resemblance between the usages of these widely separated tribes.

Murder or manslaughter, theft, adultery, and most other offences between private persons, are usually punished by a fine fixed by the court; varying, according to circumstances, from a single cow to the whole property of the offender. In aggravated cases, or when the offence is committed against powerful chiefs, the criminal is sometimes punished with death.

On the subject of their religious notions, Mr. Kay has not furnished much additional information. Nothing like a regular system of idolatry exists among them; but we find some traces of a belief in a Supreme Being, and sundry superstitious usages, which look like the shattered wrecks of ancient religious institutions and higher civilization. Among the Ama-kosa, the Supreme Being, the ‘ruler of the stars and the thunder,’ is sometimes spoken of with a vague sort of awe, under the name of *Uhlanga*, or *Udali*; but, since the missionaries settled among them, the term *Uiiko* (which is employed to denote the true God) has generally superseded the native terms. This word (*Uiiko*) is derived from the ancient Hottentot term *Tiko*, the name of the Supreme Spirit, and which is said literally to signify ‘The Beautiful.’ Among the Bechuana tribes, ‘the wielder of the thunder’ is worshipped, with propitiatory rites, under the title of *Moreemo* or *Booreemo*,—but rather as a destructive than a beneficent power.—Among the Amapondas, Mr. Kay found traces of a belief both in a Supreme Creator, and also in inferior evil spirits, not unlike some of the notions of our own ancestors concerning demons and goblins:—

‘While conversing with these people upon religious subjects, I could not but remark that the word *Uiiko*, generally used among the frontier clans for God, is here seldom or never heard; a fact which, coupled with the *click* attached to that word, very considerably strengthens the opinion of its being, like many others now embodied in the Caffer language, one of Hottentot origin. The proper names of Deity, used by the Amaponda, are *Udali* (Maker or Creator), and *Umenzi*, which signifies “Worker,” and which, when used in a sacred sense, is fully understood as referring to that Being by whom the great works of nature were produced—the heavens, the earth, and the sea, &c. *Tikaloski* also is much more frequently and familiarly talked about than among the more southern tribes. This

is an appellation that seems to be given to some invisible and indescribable being, whom they sometimes personify as a little ugly malignant demon, capable of doing them much harm, of inflicting pain, and of effecting their ruin. They likewise imagine that he is able to disturb their happiness by a kind of amorous intercourse with their women, by inducing them to play the harlot and the husband to go astray. The men, I was told, sometimes pretended to wage war with him, and after storming the hut in which he is supposed to be carrying on his mal-practices, loudly boast of victory.—P. 339.

Mr. Kay mentions having witnessed the sacrifice of a young heifer, by direction of a sorceress, to propitiate the *Shulugu* (ghost) of the ancestor of a child, the daughter of an Amaponda chief. The whole of the flesh, however, of the sacrifice, was devoured by the witch, and the chief worshippers, and only the bones left to the hungry *Shulugu*.

Besides these faint fragments of religious belief, the Caffer tribes observe with great strictness certain traditional customs and usages, which, as before mentioned, appear to indicate their derivation, at some remote period, from a people much more advanced in civilization than they themselves are now. The rite of circumcision is universally practised among them, unaccompanied by any vestige of Islamism. They do not appear to regard it as an act of religion, but as an indispensable festal ceremony, by which the youth, on arriving at the age of puberty, are admitted to the rank of manhood. On this occasion the circumcised band of youths are painted white, arrayed in a fantastic dress of palm leaves, and are kept separate for three months from the rest of the tribe; after which they are formally admitted, at a public meeting, to rank with men and warriors. A ceremony, somewhat analogous, is observed with regard to the young females, on their attaining the age of womanhood.

Still more remarkable are the funeral rites attending the sepulture of their chiefs, and the consignment of the dead bodies of all of inferior rank to the beasts of prey. The chiefs and their wives are usually interred under the hedge of the cattle-fold, and all their arms, accoutrements, and ornaments, are deposited in the grave beside them. These cemeteries are thenceforth held sacred; and among some of the tribes persons are appointed to take charge of them, who subsist on the produce of the consecrated cattle which are kept in these hallowed folds, and which are always allowed to die of old age. The abandonment of the dead bodies of the other classes to the hyenas has an appearance exceedingly savage and unnatural; and is attended with circumstances of a very revolting and deplorable character. It is evident that this barbarous practice has originated in their ancient superstitions, connected with defilement from the touch or presence of the dead. When they think that death is inevitably approaching, they carry out the sick person into some adjoining wood or thicket, and leave him to expire alone; for they have an inexpressible dread of being near or touching a corpse, and imagine that death brings misfortune on the living when it occurs in a hut or hamlet. Owing to this savage superstition, they are so anxious to get rid of the dying, that it sometimes happens, says Mr. Brownlee, that persons of the privileged class are actually interred while yet alive. Cases also occasionally occur when those who have been carried out to the woods recover, and return to their relations; but this is very rare. The raiment of the deceased is considered as unclean, and must be destroyed, and the hut which he inhabited is shut; no person ever enters it again; it is called 'the house of the dead;' no one dares even touch the materials of which it is constructed, and they are left gradually to crumble into dust.

Mr. Kay remarks, that many circumstances connected with these funeral rites, and also with childbirth, leprosy, &c., bear a striking affinity to some of the observances enjoined by the Levitical Code. For instance, whoever

er touches the dead body of a man is unclean for seven days, and is banished 'without the camp,' or kraal, till he be purified. After the death of a chief, all the people are purified on the third day in running water.

'When death has occurred in a village, all its inhabitants fast, abstaining even from a draught of milk the whole of that day, and sometimes longer. A man who has lost his wife, is required by custom to fast for several days, and to withdraw himself from society for the space of two or three weeks; during which he wanders about in some solitary and desert spot, without either comfort or companions. He not only keeps at a distance from the dwellings of men, but casts away his only garment, which is henceforth accounted unclean. His daily subsistence is derived entirely from a precarious supply of roots or wild fruits, &c.

'The widow's lot is harder still. On the death of her husband, she, in like manner, retires to the forest or the wilderness, where she is obliged to remain for a much longer period than custom requires of the man. Her means of subsistence are equally precarious; a little water from the brook, and a few bulbous or gramineous roots, generally constitute the whole of her supply of food. After wandering about in solitude for two or three days, she throws away her upper garment, which, as mentioned above, is henceforth deemed impure. She is now, of course, entirely exposed, without covering by day or shelter at night. Having spent a few days more in this state, she cuts and lacerates different parts of her body with sharp stones, until the blood flows in streams. The numerous scars left by wounds made on those occasions have, in several instances, been repeatedly shown to me. The hut in which she dwelt with her deceased husband is then burnt; consequently, she is obliged to erect a new habitation, or be dependant upon her friends for accommodation. When the days of her mourning are over, and the subsequent new moon makes its appearance, a number of cows or oxen, (if the husband had any,) proportioned to the number of wives that he had, are slaughtered, and new garments made for each from the hides of them. And this appears to be the only portion of his property that is awarded to them by law.'—P. 199-201.

But the most mischievous of all their superstitions, is the belief in sorcery. Mr. Kay has given a most frightful picture of its deplorable effects.—Almost every disease and misfortune is ascribed to the practice of witchcraft; magicians or wizards are consulted to discover the supposed criminal; incantations are practised till the multitude are wrought up to demoniac fury; and then some unhappy wretch is accused, and subjected to a variety of tortures—such as scorching with hot stones, stinging with black-ants, and the like—till a confession of the imaginary crime is extorted. Conviction being thus obtained, the culprit is either condemned to some cruel death, to corporal punishment, or to confiscation of his cattle. Some of the chiefs render this delusion an engine of terrible oppression. When they wish to seize the property of a rich subject, or to destroy any one who has offended them, they bribe the magician or witch-doctor to accuse him of sorcery; and then if he escapes with only the loss of all his property he is fortunate. The scenes of this nature, described by the present writer, are exceedingly revolting, and tend to lower not a little the favourable estimate of the simple happiness of these tribes, as depicted by some former travellers. Mr. Kay, indeed, represents those pleasing accounts as altogether illusory; as well as the flattering delineations, given by Barrow and Lichtenstein, of their pastoral simplicity and innocence of manners. But while he proves clearly enough that these intelligent travellers have considerably underrated the extent of misery and moral evil prevalent in these 'dark places of the earth,' the worthy Missionary, we cannot help thinking, shows, however unconsciously, a strong disposition to exaggerate even the darkness of paganism, and to paint the Ethiopian a shade blacker than the truth. We are led to draw this deduction, partly from a variety of circumstances stated by Mr. Kay himself, and partly from the fact that several other late writers, of the highest respectability, with the best opportunities for accurate observation, having concurred in giving a more favourable estimate of the Oorfa character. It is, moreover, evident that Mr. Kay,

notwithstanding his residence in Caffraria, is but very slightly acquainted with the language of these tribes; and that almost all his information respecting their manners and customs, except when they fell under his own personal observation, must have been acquired through the precarious medium of native interpreters. The specimens he has given of their very interesting and beautiful language, are, with the exception of a few words and phrases, copied verbatim from the publications of Mr. Pringle and Mr. Thompson.

In regard to the progress of Christianity and civilization, the information furnished by Mr. Kay is interesting, though by no means so ample as we should have expected. After adverting to the strange opposition, which, under the most absurd pretexts, was given to the extension of Christian missions in Caffraria, both by the Dutch and English Colonial Governments, up to a very recent period, Mr. Kay gives a pleasing though cursory statement of what has been effected during the last ten or twelve years. Four Societies, the London, the Glasgow, the Wesleyan, and the Moravian, have, within that period, entered, in Christian competition, on this wide and interesting field; and their stations are now planted among most of the principal tribes, from the Cape frontier to the coast of Natal, and from the south-eastern sources of the Orange river to Kurrihanae, the chief town of the Murootzi tribe.\* 'On every station,' says Mr. Kay, 'the Mission plough is busily engaged, and bids fair for ultimately putting down the field labour of the women altogether.' A variety of fruit-trees are now flourishing luxuriantly in many of the Mission gardens. Potatoes, parsnips, beet root, and other valuable esculents, have been introduced, and in some instances are beginning to be adopted by the native cultivators. Soothsayers, wizards, rain-makers, and sorceresses, are unable to maintain their ground, or sustain their reputation in the vicinity of 'the light that came from heaven.' Schools have been established; and, notwithstanding the difficulties arising from the want of books, numbers are now able to read the gospel in their mother tongue. The difficulties of an unwritten and unorganized language have been mastered; and grammars, dictionaries, and scripture translations, are now printed in the cognate Amakosa and Sichuana dialects. Comparatively few decided converts, indeed, have as yet been gained from among the adult Caffers; but two or three respectable chiefs of secondary rank have entered the pale of the Christian church; and, renouncing polygamy and other pagan customs to which their class are strongly wedded, have exhibited an example, which there is reason to hope will ere long be extensively followed.

The author gives an interesting account of a Missionary Meeting, held in the Amakosa territory on the 21st of March, 1832, at which seven native chiefs, together with a number of civil and military officers from the colony, were present. On this occasion all the chiefs spoke with ardour and eloquence in favour of the Christian religion—the 'Great Word,' as they emphatically call it—and expressed their full conviction that the labours of the Missionaries, independently of their spiritual benefits, had tended greatly to promote the peace and prosperity of their country. Their speeches, of which Mr. Kay has inserted a translation, furnished by a brother Missionary, are striking and curious; but we cannot make room for a specimen.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

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\* All the maps of South Africa which we have examined, are extremely defective and inaccurate, in regard to the designations and positions of the Native Tribes, and of the Missionary settlements among them, with the exception of one just published by Mr. J. Arrowood.

## RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF THE COLORED POPULATION.

We have perused with great pleasure the following Report of the Synod of South Carolina in regard to the Religious instruction of the colored population. It is a bold, decided, and Christian Document. We trust that all the whole South will soon show a practical regard to the sentiments here expressed.

## REPORT

*Of the Committee to whom was referred the subject of the Religious Instruction of the Colored population, of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, at its late Session in Columbia, S. C.—Published by order of Synod.*

Believers in Divine Revelation, require no arguments to prove to them, that the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is designed for the whole human family; nor that it is the duty of those into whose possession, in the sovereign mercy of God, it has come, to make it known to others who may be destitute of it.

"The field is the world"—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature"—are the words of our Lord. In the great act of Atonement, He preferred not one nation or people above another. Says He, "My flesh—I give for the life of the world." As his disciples, we are to live for the salvation of the world, so far as we have ability and opportunity, without preferring in our regards one nation or people above another. The general rule, therefore, of benevolent effort is, that we impart the Gospel, with its accompanying blessings, in the first place, to such of our fellow creatures as are most dependent upon us for it;—to such as are most needy and accessible.

In casting our eyes over the field of our labors, we see that we have not acted according to this rule. We feel condemned by it. There is a numerous and important class of persons;—we may say—a *distinct people*, within our bounds, in perishing need of the Gospel, accessible and wholly dependent upon us, to whom we have not imparted it, at least in such measures as their necessities and our duty demand. Our very knowledge of their moral degradation is limited, because we have not carefully inquired into it, and, consequently, our Christian sympathies are not yet awakened in their behalf. To extend our view beyond our bounds, who would credit it, that in these years of revival and benevolent effort, in this Christian Republic, there are over two millions of human beings, in the condition of Heathen, and, in some respects, in a worse condition: and, if we include the whole population, almost entirely neglected? These are astounding truths—and truths to be confessed with fear and contrition.

But what is to be done? Shall we continue as we are, and as we have been? The conscience of every sound mind says, no. Let light be shed upon the moral and religious condition of our colored population; let the conviction of our immediate duty to extend to them the privileges of the Gospel, pervade the Church; and a system of operations be matured and put into effect for that purpose.

From long continued and close observation, we believe that their moral and religious condition is such, that they may justly be considered the Heathen of this Christian country, and will bear comparison, with Heathen in any country in the world.

Our design, in this report, shall be, to set forth the duty of that portion of the Church of Christ which we represent, to evangelize these Heathen. And what is our duty, is the duty of the whole Church of Christ, in the slave-holding States, in all her denominations.—We shall do well, therefore, to extend our view, and embrace the colored population and the Church of Christ throughout the slave-holding States.

Before we attempt to set forth the duty, it will be proper to show, that the negroes are destitute of the privileges of the Gospel, and ever will be, under the present state of things.

We do not deny that many enjoy the means of grace; that there are a large number of professing Christians amongst them; and that in a few Churches, and on a few plantations, some particular attention is paid to their religious instructions. We rejoice in all this. But it is, at best, a day of small things, and although our assertion is broad, we believe that, in general, it will be found to be correct.

A people may be said to enjoy the privileges of the Gospel, when they have free access to the Scriptures—a regular Gospel Ministry—houses for public worship, and the means of grace in their own dwellings.

In relation to the first of these,—*Free access to the Scriptures*,—it is universally the fact throughout the slave-holding States; that either custom or law prohibits to them the acquisition of letters, and consequently, they can have no access to the Scriptures. The proportion that read is infinitely small; and the Bible, so far as they can read it for themselves, is, to all intents, a sealed book: so that they are dependent for their knowledge of Christianity, upon oral instruction,—as much so as the unlettered Heathen, when first visited by our Missionaries.

If our laws, in their operation, seal up the Scriptures to the negroes, we should not allow them to suffer in the least degree, so far as any effort on our part may be necessary, for the want of a knowledge of their contents.

Have they then that amount of oral instruction, which, in their circumstances, is necessary to their enjoyment of the Gospel? In other words, *have they a regular and efficient Ministry? They have not.* In the vast field extending from an entire State beyond the Potomac to the Sabine River; and from the Atlantic to the Ohio, there are, to the best of our knowledge, not twelve men exclusively devoted to the religious instruction of the negroes! What effect will the labors of these few individuals, produce on a mass of one or two millions of souls, and more? The number divided between them would give to each a charge of near 170,000!

As to Ministers of their *own color*, they are destitute both in point of numbers and qualifications; to say nothing of the fact, that such a ministry is looked upon with distrust, and is discountenanced. In the present state of feeling in the South, such a ministry could neither be obtained nor tolerated.

But do not the negroes have access to the Gospel, through the stated ministry of the whites? We answer, no. The white population itself is but partially supplied with Ministers; such being the fact, what becomes of the colored? And the question may be asked with still greater emphasis, when we know that it has not been customary for our Ministers, when they accept calls for settlement, to consider servants as a regular part of their charge. They certainly are as much so as are children; and Ministers are in duty bound to watch, as well for the souls of the one, as the other. But they are called to preach to masters, and to masters do they preach.

If we take the supply of Ministers to the whites now in the field, the amount of their labors in behalf of the negroes is small.

How many sermons and lectures are prepared and preached to them on the Sabbath, and during the week? How many Bible classes, Sabbath schools, and inquiry meetings, are instituted for their special benefit? To a limited extent, in some parts of the vast field the Ministers devote the afternoon or evening of the Sabbath day, to the religious instruction of the negroes, and they succeed in establishing a Sabbath school or two. But we venture the assertion; that if we take the whole number of Ministers in the slave-holding States, but a very small portion pay any attention to them. But justice obliges us to say that in ordinary cases, much cannot be expected from Ministers to the whites; for when they faithfully discharge their duties to their own congregations, they find it impossible to do much for the negroes: especially when their congregations are spread over a large extent of territory, and the number of colored persons in proportion to white, is two, three, or four-fold greater. They confine themselves to one field, and it proves sufficiently large to engage all their powers.

Let the negroes now come—and come of them who may, for no effort is made to draw them out—let them now come to hear the preaching of Ministers to white congregations, and such is the elevation of their language and thought—such the amount of knowledge they take for granted in their audiences, they might as well preach in Hebrew or Greek. The negroes do not understand them. And hence, their stupid looks, their indistinct staring, their profound sleeps, and their thin attendance. What is there to light up the countenance with intelligence—to rivet the attention—to banish drowsiness, so common to laboring men, when sitting still—what is there to attract them to the House of God?—Nothing but sound and show. Solid instruction, pungent appeals to conscience, will bring men to the Church of God, and retain them in attendance there: and nothing else will. But Divine truth is not thus adapted to the negroes, by Ministers in their sermons to the whites, and if the negroes are to be put off with such a dispensation of the Gospel as this, we should literally consign them to ignorance and superstition and vice forever.—We need no better evidence to confirm us in this opinion, than the condition of those negroes who enjoy such a dispensation of the Gospel, and such only. The whole, professors and non-professors, are low in the scale of intelligence and morality; and we are astonished thusto find Christianity in absolute conjunction with Heathenism, and yet conferring few or no benefits! The two classes are *distinct* in their education, station, association, duties, trials, and should have a *distinct Ministry*. The Gospel, as things now are, can never be preached to the two classes, successfully in conjunction. We mean not, that servants should be separated into distinct and independent Churches; this, in our view, is not desirable, but that, while they are admitted members of white Churches, and taken under their care and discipline; they should be instructed and preached to for the most part *separately*.

The negroes have no regular and efficient Ministry; as a matter of course, *no Churches: neither is there sufficient room in white Churches for their accommodation.*

We know of but five Churches in the slave-holding States, built expressly for their use. These are all in the State of Georgia—all under colored Pastors, in connexion with Baptist Associations, excepting one, which has been erected within the past year, by a Presbyterian Clergyman, a member of this Synod, at his own expense—an expense of three or four hundred dollars; and he supplies the pulpit himself gratuitously—an example which we should follow to the extent of our ability.

The galleries or back seats on the lower floor, of the white Churches, are generally ap-

propriated to the negroes, when it can be done with convenience to the whites. Where it cannot be done conveniently, the negroes who attend, must catch the Gospel as it escapes by the doors and windows.

We can furnish no accurate estimate of the proportion of negroes that attend Divine worship on the Sabbath, taking the slave-holding States together. From an extensive observation, however, we venture to say, that not a twentieth part attend. Thousands and thousands hear not the sound of the Gospel, nor enter a Church from one year to another. So much for the public administration of the Gospel to the negroes.

We may now inquire if they enjoy its privileges *in private, in their own houses, and on their own plantations?*

Again we return a negative answer. They have no Bibles to read at their own fire-sides, they have no family altars, and when in affliction, sickness or death, they have no Minister to address to them the consolations of the Gospel, nor to bury them with solemn and appropriate services. Sometimes a kind master will perform these offices; but, for the most part, they depend upon their own color, who perform them as well as they know how, if they happen to be at hand. If the master is pious, the house-servants alone attend family worship, and frequently few or none of these.

Here and there a master feels interested for the salvation of his servants, and is attempting something towards it in assembling them at evening, for reading the Scriptures and prayer; in admitting and inviting qualified persons to preach to them, in establishing a daily or weekly school for the children, and in conducting the labor and discipline of the plantation on Gospel principles. We rejoice that there are such, and that the number is increasing. In general we may however remark, that it does not enter into the arrangements of plantations, to make provision for their religious instruction; and so far as masters are engaged in this work, an almost unbroken silence reigns over the vast field.

From what we have now said, we feel warranted in the conclusion, that the negroes are destitute of the privileges of the Gospel, and must continue to be so, if nothing more is done for them.

Such being the fact, our duty is obvious. It is, *to extend the privileges of the Gospel to the negroes, immediately, in a judicious and efficient manner.* And we conceive that God imposes this duty upon us, both in *His Providence*, and in *His Word*.

He imposes it in *His Providence*.

It matters not to us of the present generation, so far as the duty under consideration is concerned, by whose consent and agency the negroes were introduced into the United States, nor whether they were introduced in a just or unjust manner. *They are here; and here too as immortal and accountable beings.* In the Providence of God, we are not accountable for the manner in which they came here. They came here before we were born. Nor are we accountable for our birth in the slave States—for our being born masters.—We are not responsible for the creation of this relation; but we certainly are for the continuance of it, and the manner in which we discharge its duties.

We are, therefore, the natural guardians of our servants, and guardians too of almost unlimited authority. According to law, they are *property*; their persons and services are at our disposal and for every privilege, civil, social and religious, they are absolutely dependent, nor can any person step in between us and them, or touch them in any particular whatever, without our permission. This guardianship, from its unlimited authority, is consequently one of no ordinary responsibility, and if we would secure the approbation of Almighty God, it should be exercised according to the principles of eternal truth and justice by which we shall be prompted to seek their best temporal and eternal interests, and also those of their posterity.

In as much, then, as the souls of this people are of more value than their bodies, their eternal than their temporal interests, who will deny that *our first duty is to extend to them the privileges of the Gospel of Salvation?* Whatever be the condition of their bodies, their souls should not be permitted to suffer. While men are contending and legislating on the subject of their civil condition and prospects, what becomes of their immortal souls? They perish by multitudes, and if we possess the spirit of our Master, we cannot look on with indifference. Our settled opinion is, that we should direct our efforts to the improvement of their moral and religious condition in the first place. Let the truth of God be brought to bear upon them and us, and light will be cast on their condition in every way.

The laws secure to the negroes the rest of the Sabbath: they permit them to assemble for religious worship on that day; and all other days, under particular provision, and on our own plantations, we can instruct them at our pleasure. We may do what we will with our own, without interfering with any man's liberty or conscience.

The negroes in Providence, are shut up in their hopes to us. They are as dependent upon us as our children, and even more so. If we deny them, they are destitute—they are friendless, and they perish; but their souls will be required at our hands!

God imposes this duty upon us in *His Word* also.

Generally, on the principles already advanced, that the Gospel is the gift of God to man, all who possess it, are bound to bestow it upon those who do not.

For the sake of impression, we may introduce briefly a few passages—"Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

Men are recognised in this command, not as of a particular nation or color; but as the moral and intelligent creatures of God. "God hath made of one blood all the nations of men." It is necessary that the word of God be spoken to the Africans; and seeing they have not put it from them, nor judged themselves unworthy of everlasting life, we cannot, we dare not, neglect them and turn to others.

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

The negroes are our neighbors, for they are men, members of the same great family; and most emphatically such, since they form a part of our households, dwell upon our grounds, and spend their days in our service. If they are not our neighbors, whom we are bound to love as ourselves, we have no neighbors at all.

"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

This rule of action, does not recklessly break down *just* distinctions in society. It is therefore, to be obeyed intelligently, with due regard to persons and circumstances.—Whatever change an intelligent and perfect obedience to this rule, would make in the condition of servants, every man is at liberty to judge for himself. But one thing would certainly result from such obedience—servants would receive the Gospel at our hands.—Were we in the condition of the negro, and he in our own; able to read and appreciate the Gospel, and to impart it to us, would we not think it his duty to do it? Yes, that Gospel which is consolation to the poor and the afflicted, and life eternal to those who are dead in trespasses and sins; would we not deem him deficient both in humanity and religion, if he either neglected or would not do it?—"Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" With more tremendous emphasis let it be asked,—"*Whoso hath the word of eternal life, and seeth his brother have need and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?*" Let this question be answered to that God, who, without respect of persons, judgeth according to every man's work!

But the Word of God contains *express commands to us as masters.*

To pass by the Old Testament, we have in the New, "And ye *masters*, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your master also is in Heaven: neither is there respect to persons with him." And again, "*Masters*, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a master in Heaven."

What kind of slavery was that existing in the days of Christ and his Apostles, which called for these commands to masters and also others to servants? *Precisely that kind with which we have to do.* We are, therefore, the *identical* persons addressed. As identical, as when we are *fathers*; and it is said, "Fathers, provoke not your children to wrath."

Here the Word of God takes fast hold of us, and we cannot extricate ourselves. The Lord puts his finger upon us as *masters*. He holds up our servants before our face. He tells us, that in the performance of duty, He does not respect us, more than He respects them. He bids us to be particular and conscientious in our treatment of them, for we have a Master in heaven, to whom we shall give account. He bids us render to them—even to them whom we are so prone to consider fit for no other purpose, designed for no other end, than to be hewers of wood and drawers of water—that *which is just and equal*—just and equal for body and soul, for time and eternity.

How much masters come short in rendering to servants, what is just and equal for this present world, we cannot say. They have a Master in Heaven. But do they render to them that which is just and equal for the world to come! Is it just and equal to suffer them to live in ignorance of the way of salvation, to die and be eternally lost? Says Job, "If I did despise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me; what then shall I do when God riseth up? And when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Did not He that made me in the womb, make him? And did not the one fashion us in the womb?" Our servants may justly have a controversy with us on the subject of their higher and better interests; and if we despise their cause, in the day when God riseth up and visiteth, we shall be speechless.

The Providence and the Word of God could not more plainly point out to us the duty of imparting the Gospel of salvation to our coloured population; and if that duty remains undischarged, we shall incur God's severe displeasure.

This duty we must view in the light of a *privilege*.

It is a privilege to repay obligation: and our obligations to our servants are greater than many are disposed to allow. It is through them that we obtain the houses we live in, the clothes we wear, the food we eat, and the education we receive. They wear out their lives to furnish us with the necessities and luxuries of life. Shall we not, then, while we contribute far more than we do to their temporal comforts, esteem it a privilege, to present to them the richest gift of God to man, the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ? Will not this be the kindest return that we can make them? And what if infinite mercy makes us the honored instruments of their salvation, shall we not then esteem our duty an inestimable privilege? We shall so esteem it in the day that the Lord shall come to "make up his jewels."

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

*From the Missionary Herald.*

WESTERN AFRICA.

REPORT OF MESSRS. WILSON AND WYNKOOP.

A general view of the interesting field which Providence seems to be opening for missionary enterprise on the western coast of Africa, together with the object for which Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop were to visit that coast, were given in the Instructions of the Prudential Committee, delivered to them previously to their embarkation, in November last, and inserted in the last volume of this work, p. 399. These brethren, after visiting Liberia, and touching at most of the native towns between that place and Cape Palmas, thus exploring about 300 miles of the coast, and having experienced much of the goodness of the Lord, both on their voyages and in Africa, arrived in New York, on their return to this country, on the 13th of April.

They embarked at Baltimore, November 28th, 1833, and arrived at Monrovia, January 29th, 1834.

*Reasons for preferring Cape Palmas as a Site for a Missionary Station.*

From the time of our arrival until the 9th of March, we were employed in acquiring information concerning the country along the coast, from Grand Cape Mount, on the northern boundary of Liberia, to Cape Palmas, embracing a distance of something like three hundred miles; and also in taking measures for the commencement of a mission. The principal places we visited within the bounds just mentioned, were Cape Mount, Monrovia, Caldwell, Grand Bassa, Grand Sesters, Rock Town and Cape Palmas. Besides these, we had opportunity to see and converse with the kings and head-men of all the intermediate towns of any considerable importance along the coast. The place we fixed upon, as the most suitable, in our judgment, for the commencement of missionary operations, is Cape Palmas; and the only step taken is for the erection of a mission-house at that place. The considerations which induced us to select this place, will be briefly enumerated.

We were induced to believe that it would prove more healthful, than any other place we had visited; a consideration, as will be inferred from a subsequent part of this report, of no ordinary importance. In this, however, we may be disappointed, as there had not, when we left the place, been a fair experiment made. But as far as our observation extended, the country thereabouts, is certainly free, in a great measure, from the ordinary indications of a sickly region. It is high, open, cultivated, without marshes and those heavy night dews, which, at Monrovia and Sierra Leone, are regarded as the fertile sources of disease.

The natives on this part of the coast are much more intelligent and numerous than those further to the windward, and are universally desirous of schools. The situation of Cape Palmas is a dividing point, and will afford an easy access to both the leeward and windward coasts, and perhaps is the most favorable point for extending missionary operations into the interior.

Lastly, it is the only point suitable for the head-quarters of extensive missionary operations within the bounds of an American settlement, not previously occupied by missionary societies. The Agent of the Maryland Colonization Society has purchased a territory at Cape Palmas embracing about twenty square miles: and a settlement is commencing under favorable auspices. A fort will be built, and a small settlement formed at the outset, just by the side of a very large and populous native town. The site chosen for the mission settlement is half a mile distant, on an elevated ground, and fronting the sea on the south side. Six acres of land have been tendered by the Agent of the Colony for the purposes of the mission; which, together with the elevation of the ground, its apparent healthiness, and its distance from both the colony and the native settlements, render it altogether as suitable a place as could be desired.

It is true we had very serious doubts as to the expediency of taking any measures for the immediate erection of the house in the neighborhood of the colony; first, from apprehensions that the colony might embarrass our future efforts for the improvement of the natives; and in the second place, we had fears, lest, in case of any contest between the colonists and the natives, the latter might be tempted to destroy it, situated as it would be out of the protection of the colony. Any apprehension, however, that might be entertained of violence to a missionary establishment from the natives, would be greatly relieved by the consideration, that they manifested a strong desire for the education of their

children, and we took all the pains we could to impress the mind of the king and his people with the fact, that the mission is to be entirely distinct from the colony, and will be identified with the interest of the natives. We also engaged a prudent, judicious man to occupy the mission-house, after it should be finished, until the missionaries should come out. We did not act in this case without the advice of several American settlers, on whose judgment we could rely. Though we have doubts, as expressed above, of the expediency, as a general thing, of missionary establishments within the American colonies on the African coast, it seemed to us necessary to have one station at least in such settlement. If all parts of the country should prove as unhealthy as Liberia and Sierra Leone, and other places which have already been tried, and require as long a time for acclimation, we do not see that this measure could be dispensed with.

There are, within the bounds of this newly purchased territory, three native towns, embracing a population of not less, perhaps, than three or four thousand. Of this population, probably 1,000 or 1,500 are children of a suitable age for the commencement of their education, and who would all be desirous of the privilege of attending school. One of the stipulated articles in the purchase of the land, was that a school should be established in each one of these towns; and the Agent of the colony has invited your Board, through us, to redeem this pledge. One of these towns is about eight miles from the American settlement. The other distant about twenty, a town well known by merchantmen as an important trading mart, situated at the mouth of a large river, and commanding more intercourse with the interior tribes, than any other town on this part of the coast. The king of this town was present at the negotiation for the land for the Maryland colony, and told us he was desirous of having a school for the children in his town. He speaks imperfect English, and appreciates the importance of education. We think that he will afford every facility in his power to a missionary in that place.

We will now notice in their order the several topics to which our attention was especially directed in our Instructions; and which we made special objects of inquiry during our stay on the coast.

#### I. *The nature of, the Superstitions of the Natives, and the hold which they have taken upon their minds.*

We could not ascertain from any of the natives with whom we conversed, that they have at present any distinct ideas about a future state, except such as can be traced to information derived from nominally Christian people who have visited the coast. It is true that, in several of the places we visited, they are in the habit of carrying food stately to the graves of their deceased friends; but we regard this rather as the result of a habit, come down from their ancestors, than of any fixed belief in the continued existence of the deceased. On one occasion, a native who visited the grave of a distinguished king with us, acknowledged that he did not believe that the food we saw there was consumed by the dead, but that the *gregree man*, who stately visited the place for pretended conference with the spirit of the dead, was the eater of it.

They uniformly ascribe the works of creation to God. But they regard the devil as the author of all providence. Hence will be seen at every entrance into their towns a *gregree pole*, with a rag upon it, or something of the kind, either to prevent his entrance, or to conciliate his favor. They never open trade on board of a ship, without pouring a libation of rum into the water, as a portion which the devil is particularly pleased with.—They wear around their necks and wrists *gregrees*, a small piece of horn, rag, or something of the kind, which has been consecrated by a priest; and they look upon it as a protection against all species of danger.

They have consecrated rocks and trees, where they go to perform some kind of religious ceremony, the particular nature of which is not known, as it is always performed in secret. The trees and rocks are not to be understood as the objects of worship, but the place where it is performed.

Along the leeward coast, between Cape Palmas and the Bight of Benin, we were informed that the natives have idols, and are in the habit of worshipping alligators, sharks, and other fishes, and stately offer children as a sacrifice to them. We saw nothing of this in our researches.

The *gregree* worship we do not regard as having a very strong hold upon the minds of the people. Many of the head-men, who have been much among Americans and Europeans, have thrown aside their *gregrees*. Several, at our persuasion, desisted from wearing them. Some gave them to us for nothing, and others sold them for mere trifles. In almost all cases they would be dispensed with, if their inefficacy was made known.—We are disposed to think, upon the whole, that the superstitions of the native Africans will be among the smaller obstacles to the spread of Christianity among them. Indeed, the truth concerning them is, they possess little or no religion; and in this respect they are peculiarly ready to receive the gospel.

#### II. *The Nature of their Vices.*

On this topic we regret exceedingly the necessity we are under of reporting, that, besides many vices peculiar to the natives of western Africa, as such, the natives along the

coast are thoroughly indoctrinated and practised in many of the most flagrant vices of civilized society. Theft, lying, cheating, stealing, quarrelling, swearing, are prominent features in their present character. Intemperance is rare, but there are abundant reasons to fear that this will ere long, unless counteracted by religious principles, become the great sin of Africa. The sin of laziness, which is so universally charged upon Africans, is by no means applicable to the maritime tribes. We never saw a more sprightly, active set of men any where. They are always eager to engage in work, and we believe nothing is wanting to make them an industrious people, but suitable motives. Adultery and fornication are seldom known, and when detected are severely punished. The people generally regard it as an undoubted privilege to cheat or steal from a stranger when they can; and they seem to entertain no scruples in telling a lie to cover the crime. But when stealing is spoken of as a prominent vice, it ought to be with some qualification. They seldom steal from each other, and when this does occur, if discovered, it is always punished. Nor will they cheat a foreigner in whose service they have been engaged for some time, and who has been kind to them. Under such circumstances they may be trusted to almost any extent.

### III. *Their Social Condition.*

Polygamy is universal. A man's importance in society is according to the number of his wives. These are regarded as his property, and are in reality his servants. They are usually purchased at a very early age. One of the wives in any family is the mistress of the others, and is honored by them as such. They are all in strict subjection to their husbands, and not unfrequently are severely chastised for the slightest offence. We could not ascertain that there are jealousies or quarrels among the wives of one man.—Nor is this so surprising as it might seem at first view, for there is neither honor nor profit in being a wife in Africa. Parents appear to be affectionate to their children. The aged are much revered. In the transactions of all important business, the old men take the lead and their sentiments usually determine the result.

The Africans commonly discover a very strong attachment to each other as friends, relatives and countrymen, notwithstanding the withering influence so long exerted by the slave trade.

### IV. *The various Languages of the Natives.*

Between the Galinas river, thirty miles north of Grand Cape Mount, and the river Cavally, thirty miles south, to the leeward of Cape Palmas, a distance of more than four hundred miles; there are five distinct languages spoken, the Vey, the Dey, the Bassa, the Kroo, and what is commonly called the Cape-Palmas language. How far these languages extend into the interior, we could not satisfactorily ascertain. One or two of them, the Vey and the Bassa, we know to be spoken to a considerable distance in the interior. Of these five, the Kroo is much the most extensive, being spoken, less or more, from Sierra Leone to the Bight of Benin. All these languages are simple and similar in their structure, but very imperfect.

It will, we think, be impossible to communicate many ideas on the subject of religion, or any other general subject, through the medium of these languages, without adopting a large number of English terms. This circumstance, together with several others, which it will be well to mention, induce the belief that ere long the English language will become the most common, if not the only language along the coast. The English and American colonies, forts, and trading settlements will contribute materially towards this result. The number of trading vessels from Great Britain and America, have already done much towards spreading the English language. The natives themselves regard it as a kind of accomplishment; it is a stepping-stone to honor at home, and a certain means of procuring employment on board foreign vessels.

But, however probable it is that the English language will ultimately become prevalent among the people along the coast, this will by no means supersede the necessity of missionaries acquiring the native languages. It will not be difficult to acquire a thorough knowledge of them.

At Grand Cape Mount we found a school for teaching the Arabic, taught by a Foulah man, whose tribe resides near Sierra Leone. The Foulahs, with a class who call themselves Mandingo men, (the African word for Mohammedan or Mussulman) are indefatigable in spreading this language over western Africa. Whether it is classic Arabic which they teach, or modern Arabic, or only the Arabic characters used to write the different languages of the country, we could not ascertain; but the zeal which the teachers manifest in extending it, and the diligence with which it is studied, exhibit a most encouraging aptitude for learning. These facts also evince the expediency of a missionary to that part of the coast being well acquainted with the Arabic language.

The Vey people, the tribe residing on Grand Cape Mount, have recently invented a system of writing entirely new, and altogether different from any other we have seen; in which, although it is not more than two years since it was first invented, they write let-

ters and books. Some of their characters resemble the Arabic, some resemble Hebrew letters, others Greek, but all of them, except those resembling the Arabic, are merely fanciful. The alphabet is syllabic.

A specimen of native writing in this newly-invented alphabet has been left at the Missionary Rooms. The occasion and manner of its being invented, as well as the characteristics of this method of writing, are nearly the same as those of the Cherokee alphabet invented by Guess, which is now so generally understood and used by the Indians of that tribe.

V. *The relation existing between the interior and maritime tribes.*

The tribes on the sea coast are the merchants or factors for those in the interior; and their knowledge of the principles of trade, and their acquaintance with foreign languages, resulting from their intercourse with Europeans and Americans, render them far superior, in their own estimation, to their neighbors. Still, however, they are jealous and afraid of these very people whom they affect to hold in contempt. Hence most of the towns on the beach are strongly barricaded, and a watch is constantly kept to prevent surprise. Great pains are taken by the people on the coast to prevent any intercourse between foreigners and the tribes in the interior, doubtless for the purpose of keeping them in ignorance, and of monopolizing the whole of the foreign trade.

This circumstance explains the difficulty which travellers have encountered, in all parts of Africa, in exploring the country. In several cases we found the towns on the sea coast connected with others further back in the country, under the same government, and speaking the same language. Generally, however, the towns on the coast are separate from, and entirely independent of all others. The kingdoms in the interior are commonly more extensive, and are more formidable than those on the coast. A Christian traveller will encounter much less difficulty from sectional jealousies, after a temporary residence on the coast, where his object will be understood to be the dissemination of Christianity, and not commercial speculation.

VI. *The disposition of the people with regard to Schools.*

In answer to this inquiry, we are happy in being able to state that along the whole coast, where we have been, we uniformly found the people desirous of schools. And from what we have seen ourselves, and from what we have learned from others, we are induced to believe that there is not a town on the coast where a Christian teacher would not be heartily welcomed. What the motives of the people may be, in particular cases, in desiring schools, and what their views generally are of the nature of an education, we do not pretend to know. But we would confidently say that there is a universal desire, nay an imperious demand for Christian schools. Wherever it was made known to the inhabitants of the towns on the southern coast, that we were going to Cape Palmas for the purpose of teaching the natives, we received applications to send American teachers to their towns. From those to whom we could not promise teachers, we had multiplied, pressing solicitations to receive their sons at Cape Palmas and educate them there. Not unfrequently they asked a written promise to this effect.

The town of Settra Kroo, one of the most important on the coast, sometime since sent to Monrovia for a teacher, promising at the same time to provide him a house.

At Rock town, where we held an interview with the king and his head men on the subject of establishing a school, they absolutely refused to "set the palaver," or let us go, until we had given them a written promise, that a teacher should be sent them, if possible. And after we were distant two hundred miles on our way home, we received a message from them, reminding us of the promise.

The desire for schools has, doubtless, grown out of an acquaintance with civilized nations. The People have thus been led to appreciate the advantages which education confers. And if one may judge from the example of a few natives whom we have seen pursuing their education, and the earnestness and facility with which they learn, we cannot think that any judicious effort to meet their desires in this respect will be fruitless.

VII. *How far the Gospel may be preached among the natives.*

We have already remarked that we regard the superstitions of the Africans among the lesser obstacles to the dissemination of Christianity. They must not be considered, however, as no obstacles. The gregree system is a source of profit to a class of men of some influence; and its most important end, with the majority of the men, is to keep the women in strict subordination to their husbands. But when it is known that Christianity is directly opposed to it, and will, if it gets a footing, destroy the "craft" of the men and raise the women to respectability in society, it is altogether probable that opposition

will be excited. This opposition, however, must be less violent than it usually is in other pagan countries, where the superstitious of the people are more deeply rooted.

It is probable that in some parts of Western Africa, the *Mohammedan religion* will present a very serious obstacle to the progress of Christianity. Along the coast, however, we were able to discover no traces of it, except at Grand Cape Mount. The rapid progress of this religion, of late years, in the central part of this continent, presents a powerful motive to Christian nations to delay no longer to discharge their weighty obligations to its long and deeply injured population, by sending to it the gospel. But if the superstitions of the natives present but a slight obstacle to the propagation of Christianity, there are other impediments of a much more serious nature.

Of these the *insalubrity of the climate* is one of the most serious. We have already expressed a hope that all parts of the coast will not prove equally unhealthy. If the same pestilential atmosphere which prevails at Messurado, Sierra Leone, and at the entrances of many of the rivers, shall be found along the whole coast, it will present a more formidable obstacle, than all others combined, to the propagation of Christianity. Few, except those who have been eyewitnesses of it, can form any proper conceptions of the agonizing pains and protracted sufferings, which are undergone by many in the process of acclimation. We have seen two of our missionary friends at Monrovia, in the short space of two days, carried to a premature grave; and the graves of others who were cut down on the same spot, before they were allowed to commence their labors, are their only visible memorials. We do not speak thus from any feelings of despondency. No one, whose heart is exercised by Christian compassion, would, after surveying the moral desolations of Africa, hesitate for a moment to endure any amount of sickness and suffering, for the privilege of carrying to them the gospel. We speak thus that the Committee may be fully informed on the subject, and may have special reference to this difficulty in all their plans of missionary operations in that part of the world.

From what we have seen we are disposed to think that Americans generally, who possess good constitutions, may, with proper care, having comfortable houses to protect them from the heat in the "dries" and the chilling rains in the "wets," after a lapse of six months or one year, enjoy tolerable health, and accomplish as great an amount of good in these regions, as in most other parts of the heathen world. And the country along the coast will doubtless improve in healthiness, as it shall be better cultivated; and the interior, if we are correctly informed, is in its present state much more healthy.

The *slave trade*, notwithstanding the embarrassments which have been imposed upon it, still sends its withering influence over many parts of Western Africa. It is true that it has ceased in a great measure on that part of the coast which we have visited; one factory only now existing there. It has never been practised in the region about Cape Palmas, either to the leeward or windward for some considerable distance. Wherever it was carried on, it has left behind it a system of domestic slavery, not less objectionable, or less opposed to the progress of religion and education, than it is in many other parts of the world.

The ordinary trade on the coast will present obstacles to the Christianizing of the natives. That this trade has conferred blessings no one can doubt who has made the subject a matter of inquiry. It has created a spirit of industry among the people, by offering them articles of traffic for the products of their country. It has changed their habits and savage fierceness in a degree to those of civilized life. Society, it is obvious, must be advancing, when idleness is supplanted by activity, and savage violence gives place to sober industry. But the evil we apprehend is chiefly from the use of *rum* in this trade.

The sentiment seems to be universal among traders on this coast, "that without rum it is impossible to make trade." Out of from fifty to one hundred vessels engaged in this trade, we heard of but one that does not make a free use of this article. It is said by those who have some scruples on the subject, that habitual intemperance is rare among the natives. But this must be ascribed to the circumstance that they have no opportunity of obtaining the means of intoxication, except when vessels visit their ports. But how long will this hindrance continue, if the trade continues and increases, and is conducted as at present? In the course of time, grog-shops will be established by the traders in all the various towns, to facilitate the gathering their cargoes; and when the means of intoxication and the temptation to it shall be thus constantly before an uncivilized people, with no moral or religious principle to restrain their appetites, it is morally certain that intemperance in its worst forms will become dreadfully prevalent.

Facts already existing warrant these melancholy forebodings. Many of these traders have already established factories along the coast, where rum is an important article in conducting trade. The merchantmen of Liberia and Sierra Leone have their factories at all important points, both on the coast and in the country, and they cannot get along, they think and say, without rum. We were told by a respectable trader on the coast that there had been drank on board his ship, in the course of one day's trade, sixty gallons of rum! The bearing of such facts on the plans of the Committee respecting this portion of the unevangelized nations is obvious.

Yet notwithstanding these obstacles, we must avow our conviction, that there is no

pagan people on the face of the earth who would more readily embrace the gospel than the native Africans. So far as our experience has gone, we have found them attentive to religious instruction; and when the great truths of the Bible were made known to them, they seemed to be filled with wonder, and were frequently seen communicating what they had heard to others who could not understand our language. With such views we would respectfully and earnestly urge the Committee to use every exertion for the dissemination of Christian knowledge in this part of the world.

VIII. *How far Educated Natives may be expected to aid in spreading the Gospel over Africa; and is it expedient to send Africans from the United States for this purpose?*

There is no hope of disseminating Christianity extensively in Africa, except through the medium of educated natives. Our hopes, however, from this quarter, ought not to be too sanguine at the outset. Unless the hearts of natives who shall be instructed are thoroughly imbued with the spirit of religion, and their minds illuminated by its doctrines, there is too much reason to fear that, when they leave the place of their education and return to their homes, they will relapse into the habits and customs of their countrymen. We have seen painful instances of natives who have been educated in Europe and America, who had renounced the habits of civilized life, and were living in the habitual practice of the most odious vices of their uninstructed countrymen. One native who had spent eight years in England prosecuting his studies, soon after he returned to his native home, commenced the slave trade, and continued it many years. He has now renounced it, he says, from moral principle; but we were inclined to think from motives of interest. A native woman who was educated in New England, writes, reads, and speaks the English with ease, we saw like the rest of her sex in Africa, almost naked. Other examples of a similar kind came under our observation. And not only are natives who have been educated prone to conform to the habits of the country, but we have observed with peculiar anxiety, that the sons of American colonists, when they have been sent from their parental roofs to manage the affairs of a factory in the country, have contracted many of the most odious and degrading vices of the people around them.

To the questions how far it would be expedient to take colored children from the United States to be educated in Africa, and colored teachers from this country for the purpose of instructing the natives, we reply, that it seems to us highly desirable that a small number of children of suitable character should be sent out for the purpose mentioned.— They would be serviceable to the mission in various ways. They would readily acquire the languages of the country, and would aid the native children, not only in their studies, but in acquiring many of the simpler arts of civilized life. Much pains, however, ought to be taken in the selection of suitable children for this purpose. If they should prove vicious they would do much more harm than good. It is also, in our view, highly desirable to take colored teachers from this country. The greatest care, however, should be exercised in their selection. They ought always to be under the inspection and direction of the missionaries, and never allowed, while connected with the mission, to engage in any secular business whatever, except what the circumstances of the mission may demand. We suggest this, because we know that several colored persons who have been sent from Europe and the United States as missionaries to Africa have turned out badly, and others have become so entirely absorbed in secular business, as to lose sight entirely of the object of their mission.

Having now touched upon all the special points of inquiry in our written instructions, we will remark briefly on some other topics.

*Opening for Missions in Liberia.*

There is certainly land enough, within the bounds of what is called Liberia, to be possessed. Some one justly remarks that there are natives enough within ten miles of Monrovia to employ ten missionaries. The chief objection to placing a missionary in that immediate vicinity, is the insalubrity of the climate. The Vey people at Grand Cape Mount, embracing a population of about eight thousand, are certainly the most interesting on this part of the coast. But there is already a Baptist missionary among them, and the missionaries of the Western Foreign Missionary Society have determined to settle there also.

Grand Bassa, sixty miles to the south of Monrovia, is an inviting spot, but the Methodist missionaries have chosen this as their ground. If the pre-occupancy of these two places shall be regarded by the Committee as a sufficient reason for locating a mission of the Board elsewhere, within the limits of Liberia, we would recommend the *Junk river*, as the next most suitable place, about mid-way between Monrovia and Grand Bassa. A territory has recently been purchased around this river, and an American settlement will be commenced there in a short time.

*Queries why little is known respecting the Interior Tribes.*

Another inquiry we made was, Why so little is known of the tribes in the interior from Liberia. There are three causes for this. 1. The want of roads to get into the country,

the paths used by the natives being exceedingly narrow, and so meandering as to make the distance four times as great as a straight line. 2. The jealousies of the different kings, leading them to prohibit Americans from entering the country. King Boatswain, who lives about sixty miles in the rear of Monrovia, has opened the way for Americans to his town, but none have been allowed to go a mile further. 3. There have been no Christian travellers to attempt an exploration of the country.

*Access to the Ashantees.*

Our last topic relates to the question from what point the Ashantee country is most accessible. We could not ascertain that the Ashantees themselves visit any other point on the coast, than Cape-Coast Castle. We derived some information concerning them from certain vessels that had been in the habit of trading with them. They are represented as a peculiar people, both in their appearance and in their habits—by no means so savage as the narratives that have been published concerning them have represented. The collision between them and the English some years since, and which proved so fatal to the latter, is said to have been provoked by the English. From what we could learn about them we are induced to suppose, that a missionary might have access to them at the present time.

*Proposed Plan for a Mission at Cape Palmas.*

In concluding this report, we would take the liberty of making a few suggestions to the Committee about the particular plan of conducting the mission at Cape Palmas.—There are five large towns on the sea coast, within the space of thirty miles north and east of Cape Palmas, where the missionary-house is erecting; in each of which it is desirable that one school should be commenced as soon as possible. At Cape Town it would be well to establish, besides a school for the children of that town, another school to be composed of boys from different and distant towns, on both the leeward and windward coasts. There would be no difficulty in procuring any number of boys, from any part of the coast, for such a school. The assemblage of boys from different tribes, speaking different languages, and entertaining diverse views on all ordinary subjects, would be decidedly advantageous to the missionaries. And the children would not be so apt to run away from the school, when they were distant from their homes; and being separated from their native amusements, they would become more attached to their teachers and their books. Besides, being the children of kings and head-men, they would open the way at home for the introduction of teachers and missionaries.

What the expense of conducting missionary operations on this part of the coast will be, we cannot certainly say. If the country should prove sickly, it would be necessary to furnish comfortable houses for the missionaries, and these, for the time being, must be transported from America. Many of the principal articles of food must be taken from this country, or be purchased from trading vessels at a very exorbitant price. The expense of a single native boy at the school would probably amount to about twelve or fifteen dollars a year. If schools should be established on the manual-labor system, which would perhaps be the best, the expense would be less. Palm oil and rice are the principal articles of food with the natives, and these, at ordinary times, could be purchased at a cheap rate.

We have one more topic to present in this report. It is to suggest that the Committee would have the coast explored from Cape Palmas to some distance beyond the equator, for the purpose of extending their missions in that quarter. There are a number of English, Dutch, and other European forts, settlements, and trading marts, near to which schools might be established forthwith, and where there are no obstacles to the immediate introduction of Christianity. We believe that Christian teachers would be gladly welcomed to any part of the leeward coast, and the sooner this country is occupied the better. In a short time barriers will be raised there by unprincipled traders, that may not easily be surmounted. We hope no time nor effort will be spared to spread abroad the influence of Christianity over this benighted land.

Since the return of Messrs. Wilson and Wynkoop, the Prudential Committee have resolved to commence a mission at Cape Palmas, with the leave of Providence, in the course of the present year—to consist of at least two ordained missionaries, Mr. Wilson being one. Mr. Wynkoop remains in this country to complete his theological education. There are to be two or three male and as many female teachers, provided suitable persons, and especially colored persons, can be obtained. These will be employed in the large native towns, of which there are three within the limits of the territory purchased by the Maryland State Colonization Society. The Committee have also adopted the following resolution; viz.

"Resolved, That the Committee enter upon this mission with the hope and expectation of extending it into the interior; and that, with a view to such an extension, the missionaries of the Board be authorized to commence a central school, as soon as the mission shall have become fully established, and the most eligible place for such a school been satisfactorily determined; and that this school be mainly intended to educate colored youth for helpers to the mission, in the work of publishing the gospel to the native population."

It is hoped that from Cape Palmas, access may be had, without great delay, to the tribes occupying the interior; where, it is believed, the climate will be found more salubrious, and the obstacles in the way of introducing Christianity will be fewer and less powerful.

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[From the New York Spectator, July 15.]

### ADDRESS OF REV. PETER WILLIAMS.

It is with unfeigned pleasure that we lay before the public the annexed address of the Rev. Peter Williams, justly characterized by the American as "a colored clergyman of exemplary character and conduct." This address has been called forth by a letter from the Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk, written to Mr. Williams in consequence of the recent outrage upon St. Philip's Church, of which he is the intelligent and devoted Pastor, and advising him to withdraw his connexion with the Anti-Slavery Society.—With this request Mr. Williams has readily complied, and in a manner which we are sure will commend him to the public respect, although, as friends of the Colonization Society, we cannot accede to every proposition contained in the address.

For instance, he says, in reference to his opposition to the Society, that this opposition "has extended no farther than that Society has held out the idea that a colored man, however he may strive to make himself intelligent, virtuous, and useful, can never enjoy the privileges of a citizen of the United States, but must ever remain a degraded and oppressed being." We are quite sure that Mr. Williams has been misled on this subject. He has mistaken the *opinions* of that Society for its *wishes*. So far from being adverse to the improvement of the colored race in "virtue, intelligence, and usefulness," we hesitate not to assert that no portion of the people of the United States, of equal numbers, has contributed so much for those objects as they have. It is their earnest desire that the colored population should become "intelligent, virtuous, and useful." They will thus advance the great object of the Society, should the colored people choose to emigrate, by diffusing civilization and Christianity in Africa.

That the colored man will be immeasurably more likely to 'remain a degraded and oppressed being' in this country than in Africa, a majority of the members, *probably*, (and ourselves *certainly*.) do religiously believe; yet this opinion, which is formed, not from any impulse of the heart, but from a survey of the constitution of the human mind, forms no well grounded objection to the Society. Even were that opinion erroneous, it can have no influence to retard the improvement of the colored people in the important qualifications to which Mr. Williams alludes.

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Correspondence between Rev. Bishop Onderdonk and Rev. Peter Williams.

*Copy of a Letter from Bishop Onderdonk to Rev. Peter Williams.*

COLLEGE PLACE, JULY 12, 1834.

Rev. and Dear Sir:—

I am sure I need not assure you of the sincere sympathy which I feel for you and your

people. The inclosed\* was prepared by me to be read, to them to-morrow, if they had been assembled. Perhaps, however, you have pursued the most prudent course in closing your church.

Let me advise you to resign, at once, your connexion, in every department, with the Anti-Slavery Society, and to make public your resignation. I cannot now give you all my reasons. Let me see you as soon as you can. I can better say than write all I think. Make the within known in any way, and as extensively as you can. "The raging of the sea, and the madness of the people," you know are connected in Holy Writ, and the one might as well be attempted to be stopped as the other. My advice, therefore is, give up at once. Let it be seen that on whichever side right may be, St. Philip's Church will be found on the Christian side of meekness, order, and self-sacrifice to common good, and the peace of the community. You will be no losers by it, for the God of peace will be to you also a God of all consolation.

Let me hear from you or see you soon. And believe me to be, with faithful prayer for you and yours, your affectionate brother in Christ. BENJ. T. ONDERDONK.

REV. MR. WILLIAMS.

To the Citizens of New York:—

It has always been painful to me to appear before the public. It is especially painful to me to appear before them in the columns of a newspaper, at a time of great public excitement like the present; but when I received Holy orders, I promised "reverently to obey my Bishop, to follow with a glad mind his godly admonitions, and to submit myself to his godly judgment."

My Bishop, without giving his opinions on the subject of Abolition, has now advised me, in order that the Church under my care "may be found on the Christian side of meekness, order, and self-sacrifice to the community," to resign connexion with the Anti-Slavery Society, and to make public my resignation. There has been no instance hitherto, in which I have not sought his advice in matters of importance to the Church, and endeavored to follow it when given; and I have no wish that the present should be an exception.

But in doing this, I hope I shall not be considered as thrusting myself too much upon public attention, by adverting to some facts in relation to myself and the subject of the present excitement, in the hope that when they are calmly considered, a generous public will not censure me for the course I have pursued.

My father was born in Beekman street in this city, and was never, in all his life, further from it than Albany; nor have I ever been absent from it longer than three months, when I went to Hayti for the benefit of my brethren who had migrated there from this country. In the revolutionary war, my father was a decided advocate for American Independence, and his life was repeatedly jeopardized in its cause. Permit me to relate one instance, which shows that neither the British sword, nor British gold, could make him a traitor to his country. He was living in the state of Jersey, and Parson Chapman, a champion of American liberty, of great influence throughout that part of the country, was sought after by the British troops. My father immediately mounted a horse and rode round among his parishioners, to notify them of his danger, and to call them to help in removing him and his goods to a place of safety. He then carried him to a private place, and as he was returning a British officer rode up to him, and demanded in the most peremptory manner, "where is Parson Chapman?" "I cannot tell," was the reply. On that he drew his sword, and raising it over his head, said, "Tell me where he is, or I will instantly cut you down." Again he replied, "I cannot tell." Finding threats useless, the officer put up his sword and drew out a purse of gold, saying, "If you will tell me where he is, I will give you this." The reply still was, "I cannot tell." The officer cursed him and rode off.

This attachment to the country of his birth was strengthened and confirmed by the circumstance that the very day on which the British evacuated this city, was the day on which he obtained his freedom by purchase through the help of some republican friends of the Methodist Church, who loaned him money for that purpose, and to the last year of his life he always spoke of that day as one which gave double joy to his heart, by freeing him from domestic bondage and his native city from foreign enemies.

The hearing him talk of these and similar matters, when I was a child, filled my soul with an ardent love for the American government, and made me feel, as I said in my first public discourse, that it was my greatest glory to be an American.

A lively and growing interest for the prosperity of my country pervaded my whole soul and led to the belief, notwithstanding the peculiarly unhappy condition of my brethren in the United States, that by striving to become intelligent, useful and virtuous members of the community, the time would come when they would all have abundant reason to rejoice in the glorious Declaration of American Independence.

\* A Pastoral Letter from the Bishop to the parish of St. Philip's Church, which owing to the congregation not assembling on Sunday, has not yet been communicated to them.

Reared with these feelings, though fond of retirement I felt a burning desire to be useful to my brethren and to my country; and when the last war between this country and Great Britain broke out, I felt happy to render the humble services of my pen, my tongue, and my hands, towards rearing fortifications to defend our shores against invasion. I treated my brethren to help in the defence of the country, and went with them to the work; and no sacrifice has been considered too great by me, for the benefit of it or them.

These were among the feelings that led me into the ministry, and induced me to sacrifice all my worldly prospects, and live upon the scanty pittance which a colored minister must expect to receive for his labors, and to endure the numerous severe trials peculiar to his situation.

My friends who assisted me in entering into the ministry, know that if the Church with which I am connected as Pastor, could have been established without my becoming its minister, I should have been this day enjoying the sweets of private life, and there has not been a day since I have entered upon the duties of my office, that I would not have cheerfully retired to earn my living in some humbler occupation, could I have done so consistently with my sense of duty.

By the transaction of last Friday evening, my church is now closed, and I have been compelled to leave my people. Whether I shall be permitted to return to them again, I cannot say, but whether or not, I have the satisfaction of feeling that I have laboured earnestly and sincerely for their temporal and spiritual benefit, and the promotion of the public good.

In regard to my opposition to the Colonization Society it has extended no farther than that Society has held out the idea, that a colored man, however he may strive to make himself intelligent, virtuous and useful, can never enjoy the privileges of a citizen of the United States, but must ever remain a degraded and oppressed being. I could not, and do not believe that the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Gospel of Christ, have not power sufficient to raise him, at some future day, to that rank. I believe that such doctrines tend very much to discourage the efforts which are making for his improvement at home. But whenever any man of color, after having carefully considered the subject, has thought it best to emigrate to Africa, I have not opposed him, but have felt it my duty to aid him, in all my power, on his way, and I have the satisfaction of being able to prove that the most prominent and most useful men in the Colony have been helped there by me.

I helped John B. Russwurm to go to Liberia, and as a token of gratitude for my aid in the case, he sent me his thermometer, which I have now hanging up in my house. I helped James M. Thompson, whom all speak of as a most excellent man, and good scholar, to go there. He was a member of my church; and when he went there, I gave him letters of recommendation, and procured a number of books, to enable him to introduce the Episcopal service; and I offered lately to contribute my mite towards establishing the Episcopal Church there. I was the first person who advised James R. Daily (Russwurm's partner) to go and establish himself in Liberia as a merchant. When Washington Davis was sent to this city, by Governor Ashmun, to study medicine, as a physician for the colony, I received him in my house, and boarded him a week, without charging the Society for it, though they offered to bear the expense.

When I found that strong prejudices were forming against me, because of my disapprobation of some of the Society's measures, and that my usefulness was thereby affected, I ceased to speak on the subject, except in the private circle of my friends, or when my opinions were asked privately by others; and in my short address to the Phenix Society, last spring, I carefully avoided the subject; and the only sentiment I uttered, referring to it, was this: "Who that witnesses an assembly like this, composed of persons of all colors, can doubt that people of all colors can live in the same country, without doing each other harm?"

It was my anxiety to promote the object of the Phenix Society, which is the improvement of the people of color in this city, in morals, literature, and the mechanic arts, that brought me to an acquaintance with the members of the Anti-Slavery Society. For several years, I had given considerable attention to the education of our people, and was much interested about our Public Schools.

I was anxious that some of our youth should have the opportunity of acquiring a liberal education, and felt that it was my duty to strive to rear up some well qualified colored ministers. I selected two lads of great promise, and made every possible effort to get them a collegiate education. But the Colleges were all closed against them. Anti-Slavery men generously offered to aid us in establishing a Manual Labor College, or High School, for ourselves, and to aid us in all the objects of the Phenix Society. I joined with them in this work heartily, and wished them all success, as I still do in their endeavors, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to obtain freedom for my brethren, and to elevate them to the enjoyment of equal rights with the other citizens of the community; but I insisted that while they were laboring to restore us to our rights, it was exclusively our duty to labor to qualify our people for the enjoyment of those rights.

Hence when the Anti-Slavery Convention was held in Philadelphia, though strongly solicited, I refused to attend, and though I was then appointed a member of the Board of

Managers, I never met with that Board but for a few moments at the close of their session, and then without uttering a word. I was also appointed, at the anniversary in May, a member of the executive Committee. But when asked if I would serve, I replied that I could not attend to it, and have never attended but on one occasion, when I went for the sole purpose of advising the Board to be careful not to take any measures that would have a tendency to encourage in our people a spirit of vanity, and I urged this advice by saying that by so doing, our people, and the cause of emancipation, would both be injured. This opinion I have, on all proper occasions expressed, and have endeavored to enforce by example; for, in all the Anti-Slavery Meetings held in the Chapel, I have always taken my seat in the gallery, excepting that on the day of the Anniversary I felt it to speak to one of the committee in the orchestra, or stage, and did not return. My brethren have rebuked me for this course, but I have not censured them for theirs. They did as they thought best, and I did as I thought best; but I have learned that it is a most difficult matter to avoid extremes on subjects of great public excitement, without being more censured than those who go to all lengths with either party.

Having given this simple and faithful statement of facts; I now, in conformity to the advice of my Bishop, publicly resign my station as a member of the Board of Managers of the Anti-Slavery Society, and of its executive committee, without, however, passing any opinion respecting the principles on which that society is founded.

I would have offered my resignation long before this, had I not thought that there might be occasions, when by having the privilege of addressing the Board, I might exercise a restraining influence upon measures calculated to advance our people faster than they were prepared to be advanced, and the public feeling would bear. But I am not disposed to blame the members of the Anti-Slavery Society for their measures. I consider them as good men, and good Christians, and true lovers of their country, and of all mankind. I thought they had not an opportunity of knowing my brethren, nor the state of public prejudice against them, as well as myself, and all I supposed that I could do was to aid them in this particular.

I hope that both they and the public generally will judge charitably of this hastily drawn communication.

PETER WILLIAMS,

Rector of St. Philip's Church, Centre st.

New York, July 14, 1834.

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[From the New York Spectator, June 11th.]

### LIBERIA.

So much misrepresentation has been resorted to for the purpose of ruining the cause of African Colonization, that we deem it a duty to place before the public, from time to time, such evidences as we may obtain as to the actual condition of the colony. If, on the one hand, it is a barren and desolate waste—fatal to human life—the refuge of crime—profligate in the character and conduct of its population, and the stay and support of the slave trade, then should the evidence to support these facts be fairly disclosed. If, on the other hand, it is a fruitful and pleasant country, salubrious in its climate, orderly and moral in the conduct of its inhabitants, efficient in repressing the slave trade, and an appropriate field for missionary effort, then that version of the case should in equal justice be made known. But if (which from the best evidence we have been able to collect may be deemed probable) it is of the intermediate character, it will not, we think, lose that interest which a reference to the immense utility of the enterprise has so universally excited. The following is a copy of a letter from a very respectable colored woman in Liberia, who went out there more than three years ago, addressed to Mr. John Dillingham, late of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, but now of this city. It presents, we think, a very just account of the condition of the colony, so far as it may be presumed to have come under her observation: It bears evidence that Liberia, like other new settlements, is subject to fevers that are frequently fatal, especially if the person attacked is negligent or imprudent, and that the moral condition of the colony is such as to invite, rather than repel, the fostering hand of Christian benevolence.

MONROVIA, Feb. 18, 1834.

Honored Sir:

Three years have elapsed since I first promised to you faithfully, that I would write to you of my health and situation. You have doubtless heard of all my afflictions and misfortunes that I have met with, and I will mention none of them. My health is quite good now. I am troubled with nothing but the agues and fevers, now and then, which are common to this country. I have never regretted one moment coming to this place; although it is the astonishing mercy of God that my life is spared, when so many have fall on my right and left, and that God has made me, though unworthy to bear the name, an instrument in his hands of doing good. I have quite a flourishing school of about seventy children—about forty-five of them I teach on the infant school system. I find some of them quite apt and others who are quite dull. I have some native girls that learn very fast. All of them are spelling—three of them are writing—and one of them is quite fond of composing letters. Some of them I think, are more intelligent than the Americans. I sometimes wish that my school consisted entirely of them—but you cannot get them from the country unless you pay something for them, and then their parents will often come and take them away. I had two little girls living with me, who I took much pride in, but as soon as they began to learn to talk English and sew, they took them away. I also had two Vie or Cape Mount boys. They are much more given to learning than any other tribe. The youngest is very smart. He has a taste for the book, and printing the alphabet and words of three or four letters. His father has sent for him, but I am loth to part with him.

The climate is very pleasant—not so warm as we imagine in America. The sun is very powerful in the middle of the day, but we always have a plenty of air, and sometimes it appears almost cold enough for a frost. There are but few people here from the north, but what are here appear to enjoy very good health. The expedition that came last from Charlestown, numbers of them died, but it was owing greatly to their imprudence, as well as the want of medical aid. The first attack was gentle, but the second, third and fourth relapses carried them off.

We have not had a very flourishing Sunday School since I have been here, but I have tried to keep my scholars together on the Sabbath. I have quite an interesting Bible Class, which I take much delight in. I never can regret the time that I spent in the Sabbath School in America. The knowledge I there received, I think I can now impart to others. We much want such a person as yourself, and then our Sabbath Schools would flourish. The other Schools continue, but I do not think they are making much progress, excepting the one taught by Mrs. Caesar, at Caldwell. There are one or two more settlements about to take place on the coast. Mr. T. my present husband has now gone to Cape Palmas to see the place. The Missionaries that lately arrived here are all sick, but not dangerous. We have lost one—the wife of Mr. Wright. Time will not allow me to say more. I hope I shall soon hear from you and the family, as I often think of the little girls. I beg an interest in your prayers; that I may continue faithful unto the end, and what I do do all to the glory of God, is the desire of Your most obedient servant,

ELIZABETH THOMPSON.

P. S. I send you a paper containing the manner in which the exhibition of my school was conducted, just before the holidays.

[The paper referred to in the postscript is before us. It is a printed sheet containing the order of the exercises and four appropriate hymns, which whether original or selected are certainly not inferior to the effusion of the muse on a like occasion, and in a city that boasts of an elevated taste, and great literary refinement.]

### ANTI-COLONIZATIONISM IN OLD TIMES.

At a meeting of the Connecticut Colonization Society, held at New Haven, 22nd of May, Rev. Mr. Bacon, of New Haven, said, "The Colonization Society was the star of hope to Africa, and the star of hope to the children of Africa in this country." Dr. Hewitt remarked, "The colony at Liberia, as bad as it is, with all its difficulties and mismanagement, is the best to be found upon earth. He said he had read of a Colonization Society that undertook three thousand years ago, to colonize in the land of their fathers, three millions of slaves. The President of that Society was one Moses. And there arose up an Anti-Colonization Society, the President of which was one Pharaoh. They would not let the people go. They represented the dangers of the undertaking, and the cruelty of removing them from the land in which they had been born; and they themselves preferred to stay where they could sit by the flesh pots of Egypt, saying to Moses, "Let us alone that we may serve the Egyptians, for it had been better for us that we serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness."

## INTELLIGENCE.

## DISTURBANCES IN NEW YORK.

The public Journals of New York contain copious accounts of a series of riots which, for several days, commencing with the Fourth of July, disturbed the peace of that city, and which were accompanied with considerable destruction of property. The causes of these outrages on civil rights, were chiefly certain offensive doctrines and proceedings of the advocates of Immediate Abolition, and the imputation to them of other opinions which have since been disavowed.

It must be a source of lasting regret to every American Patriot, that such scenes should have occurred in the largest city of the Republic. It is the boast of our countrymen, that they live under a Government of laws; and unless we are willing that the boast should be regarded as a vain mockery, no other tribunal than that of the laws should ever sit in judgment on the acts of individuals. Far less should it undertake to combine the different stages of trial, judgment and execution, in a single process of summary and diffusive vengeance, in derogation of both constitutional and natural right. In every free State, the laws must be supreme.

But though the irregular and violent mode in which public opinion in New York has manifested its disapprobation of the conduct of the Abolitionists deserves strong censure, their own exculpation is not implied in the censure. On the contrary, it cannot be denied, that relying on the guaranty of "freedom of speech and of the press" secured to them by the American Constitution, they have used the privilege as a weapon of hostility against that instrument by endeavouring to inflame the public mind against a portion of its provisions, and by consequence against the peace and permanency of our happy Union. The distinction, between avowed, systematic and actual resistance to the Constitution, and the enforcement of opinions which if made

predominant must subvert it, is worth nothing in practice, and indeed is almost too shadowy for metaphysics. Let us hope that while the rebuke given by the law to the recent tumults in New York, will effectually prevent their repetition, the recollection of them will lead to an abandonment of the course of proceeding by which they were mainly provoked. We say *mainly*, because it seems that one of the riots occurred at a Theatre, and that it was caused by some imputed slanders of a foreign player on the American character.

We are happy to believe that the advice in the following resolutions given by the Managers of the New York City Colonization Society to the friends of the cause of Colonization, was faithfully followed:—

*Colonization Society of the City of N. York.*

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, held on the 10th of July, 1834, the following Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

*Whereas*, certain tumultuous meetings have lately been held in this city without any previous knowledge on the part of this Board, at which certain resolutions, approving the objects of the New York Colonization Society, were passed. *Now, therefore*, to prevent any inference or consequences unfavorable to the measures of this Society,

*Resolved*, That this Board does highly disapprove of all such tumultuous assemblages, and earnestly recommends to every friend of the cause of Colonization, to abstain from all encouragement of the same, as well as from all participation in proceedings subversive of the rights of individuals, or in violation of the public peace.

*Ordered*, That the above Preamble and Resolution be signed by the President and Secretary, and published in the several daily newspapers in this city.

WM. A. DÜER, President.

IRA B. UNDERHILL, Secretary.

## LAFAYETTE.

*Extract from the minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, July 3rd, 1834.*

The Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, having heard with the deepest regret of the decease of the venerable Lafayette, one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society, deem it their duty, publicly, to express their admiration of his character as an illustrious benefactor of the human race, and the firm, the constant, the

able and the disinterested friend of our country, and the fearless advocate, at all times, of liberty.

*Resolved*, That this Board will cherish in affectionate gratitude and perpetual recollection, the person and the virtues of the great and good Lafayette.

*Resolved*, That among the strong and enduring claims of this eminent individual to the veneration of mankind, not the least is derived from his ardent and active desire to meliorate the condition and elevate the character of the African race.

*Resolved*, That the name of Lafayette be given to one of the earliest settlements that shall be founded in Liberia, in honour of him who evinced a heartfelt interest in the growth and prosperity of this Colony, as well as in all measures adapted to enlighten and regenerate Africa.

*Resolved*, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to G. W. Lafayette, with assurances that this Board cordially sympathize with the relatives of the deceased in that overwhelming affliction with which it has pleased Almighty God to visit them in the removal of one no less attractive for his private worth, than extraordinary for his public virtues.

"*The Colonizationist and Journal of Freedom*," a monthly periodical published at Boston in pamphlet form, and an able advocate for the American Colonization Society, has been discontinued, to give place to a publication devoted to the cause, in a form better adapted to subserve the cause. A weekly paper is proposed.

It is proposed to issue at Boston, during the summer, a series of argumentative Tracts, expository of the true principles of the Colonization Society, and designed partly as a reply to the numerous unfounded accusations brought against the American Colonization Society and the scheme of Colonization generally.—Able pens are engaged.

The Journal of Commerce, in reference to the attack on Colonization and to the remark made at the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, that the audience had assembled 'to toll the death knell and attend the funeral obsequies of the Colonization Society,' says

"In the early part of this war, the Colonization Society contented itself with acting on the defensive; but its friends have at last been driven to take the field, and have, during the last few days, not only made their principles understood, and vindicated them-

selves before admiring crowds, but have carried the war into the camp of their opponents until the necessity for a winding sheet has well nigh passed to the other side, and Colonization is almost in danger of being compelled to perform the last kind office for its lately exulting foe. Public sentiment is aroused. Colonization has gained a degree of attention which it could never before excite. Its objects are understood and appreciated, and will be supported by increasing multitudes of our citizens."

#### MARYLAND COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

We learn from the Lutheran Observer, that a public meeting to promote the interest of this Society, was held a few days since at Baltimore. The Rev. Dr. Boud presided, and several interesting addresses were delivered, after which a collection was taken up. What gave peculiar interest to the meeting, was the presence of two African princes, who had arrived in this country about two weeks previous. They are lads of 12 and 15 years of age, one the son of *Weah Bokio*, king of *Grahway*, the other the son of *Parfleur*, king of *Cavally*. They were brought to this country at the request of their parents, by the Agent of the Maryland Colonization Society, with a view to be educated in this country, and return to their native land, to instruct their benighted brethren in the principles of the Gospel of Christ.

The territory owned by the Maryland Colonization Society, on the western coast of Africa—comprising 400 square miles—was purchased from the fathers of these young princes; and one of the terms stipulated in the treaty, was that the Society should bring these youth to this country, and give them a thorough education, and also, as soon as practicable, establish a free school in each of the three large towns of their respective dominions. Is not "Ethiopia stretching out her hands unto God?" and does not every benevolent heart thrill with delight, at such manifestations of a desire for instruction on the part of these poor degraded deeply injured heathen? What shall not this Colonization Society of Maryland accomplish for that interesting land?

CHURCH AT MONROVIA, AFRICA.—A friend of Missions, understanding that about \$200 have been contributed in the United States, towards the erection of an Episcopal Church at Monrovia, and that \$400 more are needed to secure the building of the edifice; proposes to give \$10 in behalf of this object provided 39 other persons will each subscribe the same sum.—*Missionary Recd.*

At a late meeting of the Executive Committee of the Essex Co. (N. J.) Colonization Society it was resolved that they have undiminished confidence in the American Colonization Society, and that those who celebrate the 4th of July be respectfully invited to take up a collection to aid in colonizing the free people of color, and in evangelizing the great continent of Africa.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society in the month of July, 1834.

Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.

Thomas Buffington, Guyandott, Va.	\$100
Jacob T. Towson, Williamsport, Md.	100
<i>Collections from Churches.</i>	
Athens, Georgia, by Charles F. McCoy,	4
Belvidere, N. J. congregation, by Rev. Isaac Caudee,	14
— and Oxford Sunday Schools,	8 57
Bloomingsburg, N. Y. by Rev. Henry Connelly,	6 68
Bristol, R. I. from Cath. congregation,	3
Centre, Washington co. Pa. Presbyt'n church, by Rev. John U. Kennedy,	10
Chambersburg, Presbyterian church,	20
Congruity, Westmoreland county, Pa. Presbyterian church,	10
Fredericksburg, Episcopal church, by Rev. C. M'Guire,	23
Frederick county, Md. work by Female Sunday School Teachers,	10
Gettysburg, Pa. Presbyterian church, by Rev. Jas. C. Watson,	8 25
— and Hill congregations, by Rev. C. G. M'Lean,	15
Hopewell, N. Y. Reformed Dutch church, by Rev. Charles Whitehead,	17
Jeffersonville, Indiana,	5
Lenox, Mass. in the Congregational church, by Rev. Dr. Shepard,	6
Lewisburg, Union county, Pa. Presbyterian do, by Jas. F. Linn,	10
Lexington, in Rev. Jas. W. Douglass's church,	16
Lisbon, Conn. in the First Ecclesiastical Society,	3
Milford, Conn. First Society, by Rev. B. Pinneo,	10
Marietta and Belpre, Ohio, by D. Woodbridge, Tr. Washington co. Aux. Soc.	71
Newark, N. J. by Rev. Wm. Matchet,	25
New Albany, Indiana, by Robert Downey, on the plan suggested by him in the African Repository, Vol. 9, p. 186,	115
Newberry, Mass. at the Children's Meeting,	81
Newcastle, Pa. by Rev. Robert Semple,	10
Orleans, Barnstable county, Mass. by Rev. Charles Boyter,	5
Oxford congregation, by Rev. Isaac Caudee,	3 90
Petersburg, Va. in the Presbyterian church, by Rev. W. S. Plumer,	40 36
Prince George county, Md. Chapel congregation, St. Paul's Parish, by the Rev. F. D. Goodwin,	8 50
Redclay Creek church, Del. by Rev. Thomas Love,	5
Ringoes, N. J. at Rev. J. Kirkpatrick's church,	10
Rock Creek; Tenn. by Rev. Thomas G. Hall,	10
Schenectady, at the Dutch Church,	14 72
Skaneateles, Onondaga county, N. Y. St. James's Episcopal church,	12
Walpole, Mass. at an evening meeting,	1 81
Warren, R. I. at the Methodist meeting, by W. R. Stone,	7 38
—, Fauquier county, Va. in the Epis. church, by Rev. Geo. Lemmon,	8 50
Washington City, in Christ church, by Rev. Mr. Hatch,	5
do do in First Presbyterian church, by Rev. Mr. Post,	10
Westfield, N. Y. by Rev. D. D. Gregory,	15
Winchester, in Methodist Epis. church, by Rev. J. L. Gibbons,	15
York, Pa. Presbyterian church, by Rev. Robert Cathcart,	10
<i>Auxiliary Societies.</i>	
Boudoin Auxiliary Society,	10
Crawford county, Va. do,	30
Essex county, N. J. do,	90
Rock Creek, Tenn. do, by Rev. Thomas G. Hall,	10
Warrenton, Va. Female Aux. Society, by Rev. G. Lemmon,	20 50
<i>Donations.</i>	
Augusta, Georgia, from Robert Campbell,	300
Chenango, Pa. from W. Carnes, Esq. by Rev. R. Semple,	6
Hillsdale, N. Y. from Adonijah Bidwell,	10
McConnellsville, Ohio, from the citizens of,	7
Redclay Creek, Del. from an individual,	5
Salem, N. J. from John Tyler,	1
Schenectady, from Giles F. Yates,	5 28
Warrenton, Va. a Friend, by Rev. George Lemmon,	1
<i>Life Member.</i>	
Cromwell, Pa. Rev. R. W. Dickinson,	40
<i>African Repository.</i>	
Mrs. Col. Reid, Lexington,	2
Sidney S. Baxter, do,	2
Maria Rogers, Bristol, R. I.	2

# THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

## COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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VOL. X.] **SEPTEMBER, 1834.**

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[No. 7.]

### AUXILIARY RELATIONS.

A copy of the proceedings of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, in the month of June last, was transmitted to the Parent Board at Washington, and published in our July No., page 150.

Messrs. CRESSON and NAYLOR having arrived in Washington, as a Committee from the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, to confer with the Parent Board, it assembled on the 2nd of July, in order to receive those gentlemen. The following is an

*Extract from the minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, July 2, 3, 1834.*

Messrs. CRESSON and NAYLOR respectively exhibited their views of the relations held by the Young Men's Colonization Society to the Parent Society, and of their wishes in regard to colonizing certain liberated slaves of the late Dr. AYLETT HAWES of Virginia. After full discussion, and a general interchange of views between the several members of the Board, and of the Committee of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, it was

*Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed to confer with Messrs. CRESSON and NAYLOR on all matters relating to their present agency at Washington; that said Committee receive the views of those gentlemen in writing in relation to the extent and field of operation proposed for the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, and particularly whether the said Society in establishing a colony at Bassa Cove, design to act as Auxiliary to this Society, or as an independent Society; and make a report to-morrow at 5 o'clock, P. M. of all the facts above referred to, with their opinion on the same.

Messrs. LOWRIE, SEATON and GURLEY were appointed the Committee.

On the following day, the 3rd of July, the Board met, and the Committee made their Report, which was read, considered and *unanimously adopted*.

The following is the statement of the delegates from Philadelphia, referred to by the Committee:—

We were appointed by the Board of Managers of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, for certain special purposes enumerated in the resolutions under which we were appointed; a copy whereof is in your possession, and which we will consider as annexed to this statement.

The first of our instructions is to obtain the authority and sanction of your Board for the transportation of the slaves recently liberated by the late Dr. Hawes of Virginia.

Your Board, however, prior to its giving us such authority and sanction, is desirous of knowing how far it can legally do so if our proposed colony be entirely independent of any control or accountability to your Board? And also request to be informed by us whether we contemplate a total independency, or for what purposes and to what extent we

consider our Society connected with, or subject to your Board? Before we pretend to answer this question, we must distinctly state that we have no authority to enter into stipulations upon this subject or to define the respective authorities of the two Societies. It is a matter which has never been determined, and we may add, discussed by our Board; and that so far as concerns this question, our commission is limited to the simple direction to obtain from your Board its sanction and authority to colonize the said slaves. All, therefore, that we shall say upon this head, is either our own individual opinions or what we deem to be the sentiment of the Society.

The first article of the Constitution of our Society provides that the said Society "shall be Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society;" and the address recently published by the Board we represent, declares that it is to sustain "the direct relation of an Auxiliary, in such a way as not only not to diminish, but on the contrary, to increase its resources." The object of the Society, then, as we understand it, is to establish and to maintain, at its own cost and expense, a separate colony on the coast of Africa upon the principles mentioned in its Constitution, and to take as its first emigrants to said colony, all the liberated slaves of the late Dr. Hawes of Virginia; our Board to have the local regulation of said colony, to prescribe the manner in which colonization shall be conducted, to appoint its own Agents, and be an independent colony for the purposes which we think will secure to us the powerful operation of the whole people (and perhaps the Legislature) of our great State, and promise so much benefit to the cause of Colonization generally—whilst at the same time we would seek such arrangements with your Board as would secure to your colony a rapidly increasing prosperity, imparting to it aid and strength and sustenance, in order that it might be able at any time to step in to our relief or rescue. How this is to be done, what these regulations shall be, and how far the independence of our colony shall be restricted by your Board, we do not pretend to say.—This is a matter for future regulation. One thing, however, must be taken care of, that whilst we are endeavoring to extend the cause of Colonization by planting a new colony, the old one must not be permitted to languish. That must go on increasing in strength and power. As we propose to be Auxiliary we must help it. And as that is already so successfully established, it must be sustained.

In reference to our action at home, which your Board is also desirous of being informed of, it is intended, so far as we can speak for ourselves, to appoint, support and control an Agent for our own State, and to have the management of the funds collected;—to act in conjunction with the New York Society in case a union should be formed; both, however, acting Auxiliary to your Society. in "such a way as not only not to diminish, but, on the contrary, to increase its resources."

We think that the cause of Colonization should not be limited to the successful establishment of but one colony. The friends of the cause and its ultimate and triumphant success, require more of us. We should attempt more; and we feel fully convinced that our measures may be so prosecuted, that, even if our attempt should fall short of a permanent establishment, yet that it may and must add to the welfare, permanency and extension of the colony already established by your Board.

We look to the separate action of our colony, preserving, however, a conformity with the Constitution and general laws of Liberia, as but temporary; and shall rejoice when we may be enabled to surrender our trust, and permit the two colonies to blend into one harmonious whole.

ELLIOTT CRESSON,  
CHARLES NAYLOR.

Washington, July 3rd, 1834.

To Messrs. LOWRIE, SEATON }  
and GURLEY, } Committee of A. C. Society.

#### Resolutions referred to above:—

*Resolved*, That two persons be a commission to visit without delay, the city of Washington, and also the region of Virginia where the executors, heirs and slaves of the late Dr. Hawes reside, with instructions as follows—viz:

1. To obtain the authority and sanction of the Parent Board for the transportation of said slaves.
2. To secure the permission of said Board for the landing of these colonists at some suitable and safe point in the territory, for shelter and protection (in the event of our preparations to receive them at Bassa Cove being found incomplete) until suitable accommodations can be prepared for them; it being understood that we assume the control and expense of the expedition, and that the twenty dollar allowance, per head, for transportation, be transferred to us.
3. That said commission be instructed to repair to Virginia, and there ascertain, the terms of the will—the limits of the law, as to relapsing into slavery; the state of the slaves, the ability and purpose of the executors as to the sum allowed in the will for their removal; and whatever may be necessary to secure the great object we have in view:—
4. And that said commission be requested to ascertain whether the laws of Virginia will allow any delay beyond the specified time arising from peculiar necessity; and if not,

then whether, if it should hereafter be required by our circumstances, or those of the slaves, we may not, for a season, accommodate them in the District of Columbia, or the State of Maryland, until the season and their preparations enable them to set sail.

5. That this Board will pay all expenses of the commission incurred in our service.

#### The report of the Committee is as follows:—

The Committee appointed to consider the views submitted to the Board by Messrs. Cresson and Naylor in regard to the plan and purposes of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, submit the following Report:—

The delegates from Philadelphia have placed in the hands of the Committee a statement, containing opinions varying little from those expressed verbally by them at the special meeting of the Board on yesterday.

The members of the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania are, the Committee have no doubt, animated by a generous and enterprising spirit of activity in the cause of African Colonization, and have already done much to excite new interest and sympathy in its favour, among the citizens of Philadelphia.

The Committee cannot question the right of the Young Men's Society, or of any other Society, to adopt such principles and measures as they may deem proper for the furtherance of their object. Should any Auxiliary Society consider it expedient to dissolve its connexion with the Parent Society, and act altogether independently, this Board, however it might differ in opinion from such Society in regard to modes of operation, for the common cause, would rejoice in any success which might attend its benevolent efforts.

Much, it is obvious, may be done by Auxiliary Societies without instruction or authority from the Parent Board to increase the resources, accelerate the operations and extend the influence of the cause. Nor can the Parent Board, presume to prescribe for what particular object the funds collected by such Societies for the general cause, shall be expended. The Massachusetts Colonization Society has resolved to devote its funds mainly to the promotion of education in the colony. The Albany Society has directed that a certain amount of its contributions shall be applied to founding a new settlement to bear the name of Albany, and from which ardent spirits shall be excluded; and the State Society of Pennsylvania, that the aid it may furnish, shall go to relieve and sustain the colony, rather than to other general purposes for which pecuniary means may be required. The Parent Board regard the donations of their fellow citizens and Auxiliary Societies as entrusted to them, to be expended for the cause in any way the donors may direct, not inconsistent with the general principles and objects of the Society.

By the will of the late Dr. Hawes, more than one hundred slaves are left to be settled in Liberia under the direction and guardianship of this Society. Viewing the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania as Auxiliary to this, the Managers consented, some weeks ago, at the request of that Society, to place these slaves, on certain conditions, under its care, that they might be sent out by it, and established as a new settlement at Bassa Cove, which settlement should be maintained and regulated by the Young Men's Society in consistency with the general authority of this Board and the Laws of Liberia. In consenting to transfer the slaves of Dr. Hawes to the Young Men's Society, the Managers did not understand that they were placing them in the power of an entirely independent Society, or agreeing that they should be sent to a colony over which this Board would have no control.

The question submitted, as the Committee apprehend, by the communication of Messrs. Cresson and Naylor, is, whether this Board shall consent to yield up the whole work of African Colonization in Pennsylvania, or in Pennsylvania and New York, to a separate and independent Society, and that such Society shall found an independent colony on the present territory and in the neighborhood of settlements already established in Liberia.— True, the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania is styled Auxiliary, in its Constitution, to the Parent Board, but its purpose as explained is, to establish an independent colony to be governed exclusively by its own laws; laws adopted without the sanction either of the Parent Board, or the colonial government: and for the planting and support of this colony, the States of Pennsylvania and New York are to be an exclusive field of agency for the new independent society, within which the Parent Board is to have no Agents no Auxiliaries and no benefit from the Fourth of July collections. It is indeed proposed that all surplus funds not required for the management and enlargement of the new colony, shall be paid over to the Parent Society. But every one acquainted with the expense of founding a new colony, or with the powerful motives which will invite increased expenditures for its extension and improvement, must regard such a proposal as significant of little more than kindness and good will to the Parent Society.

The Committee feel it their duty to express their opinions the more fully and frankly on this subject, because the views of the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania are made known in connection with a request that the slaves of the late Dr. Hawes should be placed under their control, and because they deem it a subject of immense importance to the cause.

While the Committee are sensible of the propriety of enlisting as far as practicable,

consistently with united and harmonious action, the local feelings and sectional interests of the friends of the Society, they believe, that a separate and independent course on the part of Auxiliary Societies, if generally adopted, would annihilate the Parent Institution. To consent to such separate and independent action then, would, on the part of this Society, be to yield up its very existence.

The proposition for this separate and independent action comes from the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania only. The views of one Society, cannot be regarded as expressing the general sentiment of the country, or even that of Pennsylvania and New York.—In both of these States the Parent Society has many able friends and Auxiliaries, and although the New York City Colonization Society has announced its purpose of founding a new settlement at Cape Mount, yet the noble zeal and liberality recently evinced by its members and Managers in aiding the funds and operations of the Parent Board, at a trying crisis, afford reason to believe that it contemplates nothing calculated to diminish the strength, or disturb the harmonious operations of this Society. At the suggestion then of a single Society, the Committee could not recommend to this Board to yield up a trust confided to them by the general will and voice of the friends of African Colonization in every quarter of the country.

The Committee are of opinion, that a separate and independent Society embracing the friends of African Colonization in the States of Pennsylvania and New York, engaged in the establishment of a new and independent colony, if sanctioned by this Board, could hardly fail of uniting to it the feelings and commanding the resources of New England. Indeed the circular of the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania, indicates it as a cherished purpose to bring into the measures of that Society the opinions and contributions of all the "Atlantic free States." In case of such a Union, it could hardly be expected, that the South and the West would continue long to sustain a Board established on the Northern and Eastern borders of their territory, but that they would seek a more central organization. A total revolution would thus be effected in the present general Society; the effect of which on the present colony could not be other than disastrous.

A marked division and difference of sentiment between the organized friends of the cause at the North and the South, would, in the judgment of the Committee, be almost inevitably the consequence of such a change. This consideration alone, is entitled to very great weight in forming an opinion on the subject. As the population to be especially benefited by this Society mostly reside at the South, and to a great extent depend upon the citizens of the South, it is of extreme importance, that the people of the North should remain united with those of the South, in the plans and measures that may be devised and executed for their good.

The principal reason suggested in favour of the views of our friends from Philadelphia, is derived from the idea of a general want of confidence in some portions of the North, in the management of the Parent Society. To vague and indefinite charges, it is impossible to give a distinct and definite reply. The Board assume no claim to infallibility; but it is due to themselves to say, that since the Annual Meeting, they have bestowed the most unremitting attention to the high trust confided to them. They have published an exposition of the affairs of the Parent Institution, of their principles, the causes of their embarrassment, and of the measures proposed for future action. They do not perceive that in their principles and measures, they differ essentially from the Young Men's Pennsylvania Society. If their proceedings should fail to meet the approbation of the friends of the cause, a remedy is at hand. The whole Board can be changed at any Annual Meeting, and (what would be impossible were the unity of the Society destroyed) all great measures be considered and discussed in a convention of the best and ablest friends of the cause from every section of the United States.

It is clear to the Committee, that whether we consider unity of sentiment, or vigour and economy of action here and in Africa, the cause of African Colonization can, at present, be most advantageously conducted, under the general superintendence of a Central Board, and that while great good may result from such an adjustment of measures with the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania, and other Auxiliaries, as may give them a wide sphere of operation for their zeal and enterprise in the great common cause, yet the measures of such Societies, both here and in Africa, should be under the general control and authority of the Parent Society. The Committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:—

*Resolved*, That entrusted as this Board are with the interests of the American Colonization Society, they cannot give their consent to the institution of a Society professedly Auxiliary, but in reality separate and independent of the Parent Society, believing as they do, that such a principle, if adopted generally by Auxiliary Societies, would annihilate the Parent Society, and endanger the whole scheme of African Colonization.

*Resolved*, That the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania be informed, that as Auxiliary to this, the slaves of the late Dr. Hawes will be transferred to them, to be sent to Liberia, and supported there by them in a separate settlement or community, under the superintendence of such Agent and of such local laws or regulations as may be adopted by the said Society, and approved of by this Board; but said community to be considered as a part of the colony of Liberia and subject to the general laws of the colony in

all respects as the citizens now there; and that so soon as said Society shall signify their acceptance of these conditions, the said slaves shall be formally transferred to them, together with the sum left for their transportation by the will of Dr. Hawes.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society, held on the 1st day of August, 1834, a letter, dated July 25th, 1834, from Mr. ELLIOTT CRESSON, Corresponding Secretary of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, to Mr. LOWRIE, a member of said Board, enclosing the following Report and Resolution adopted by the said Young Men's Colonization Society, was, together with said Report and Resolution, read:—

At a meeting of the Board of Managers of "the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania," held July 22nd, 1834, the following Report and Resolution submitted by the Executive Committee, were adopted, and the Secretary directed to forward a certified copy thereof to the Board of Managers of the "American Colonization Society" at Washington:

The Executive Committee to whom was referred, by the Board of Managers, the subject of the kind of Auxiliary connexions and relations which the "Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania" should maintain with the American Colonization Society at Washington, and the conditions upon which the former agrees to receive from the latter the manumitted slaves of the late Dr. Hawes of Virginia, with a view to their being located in a new settlement on the coast of Africa, Report—

That the known and admitted advantages of position of the Parent Board at Washington, and of the composition of the American Colonization Society, of which it is the executive branch, forbid the idea of independent action by Societies formed on the model of this one. The Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, distinctly admits in its Constitution, its Auxiliary character; nor is it content with affirming a merely nominal connexion of this kind with the Parent Board. It has carefully abstained from extending its sphere of action beyond the State of Pennsylvania, and within these limits it proposes to make the proceeds of its labours not merely subservient to the general objects of Colonization in Africa, but to dispose of them in such a manner as shall meet with the approbation of the Parent Board.

This latter, by its location at the seat of Government, is enabled to unite the North and the South in the great cause of Colonization, and to procure joint action between portions of the country and their inhabitants which could not be done by a Society in any other section of the country. It is, moreover, requisite that there should be a central Society or Board, to exercise a general superintendence over the settlements on the coast of Africa, the better to preserve among these, the necessary harmonious intercourse and other relations. This Board is also best fitted to keep the whole United States apprised of the progress and wants of the whole of the African colonies, and thus to enable the former to transmit, with knowledge of all the circumstances, the pecuniary and other assistance which they may propose from time to time to furnish to the latter.

It must, on the other hand be conceded, that an Auxiliary, such as that of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, enjoys means and facilities for furthering the common cause, superior in some respects, to those possessed by the Parent Board.—Among these, may be mentioned the readiness of a direct appeal to a large and wealthy population for countenance and aid,—an appeal which, moreover, would be perhaps coldly responded to if made by any Society whatever at a distance. Next in the list of peculiar advantages, is the location of the Young Men's Society in a commercial city, by which greater economy and despatch in the transportation of emigrants and in the outfit of them and the colony in general, are insured. It is also an encouraging circumstance, that some of the members are themselves merchants and men of business, practically conversant with the marketable value and price of goods, utensils, &c. for the colony. In view of these advantages, it can hardly be expected that the Auxiliary operations of the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania, should be restricted to a mere collection and distribution of funds to order for the Parent Society, without at the same time a direct participation in council and executive action with the latter. But as the exercise of this right could only be salutary and efficient, after a full knowledge of all the circumstances connected with the condition of the colonies and the resources of the Parent Board, and as the information requisite for a due enlightenment on the subject, can hardly be in the possession of an Auxiliary Society, the latter must either refrain from all joint counsel and legislation with the Parent Board, or take a particular line of action tending to a specific end. This has been already done by some of the State Societies, with the consent of the Society at Washington, and it is now proposed to be carried out by this Society and its Board of Managers in Pennsylvania. The scheme to which the energies of this Society are now to be directed is, the founding of a new settlement on the coast of Africa, under the au-

spices of the Parent Board, and yet with such modifications and reforms as would render it difficult for the latter, to assume at once the entire responsibility without an admission of continued wrong done to other colonists and the settlements now in existence. Just so far as these modifications and reforms extend, would it be necessary to have different or amended local laws and regulations, if not a different executive agency; as when it is proposed in the new colony that more attention shall be paid to agriculture, the importation, manufacture and sale of ardent spirits prohibited, and an uniform plan adopted and acted on of supplying the public stores, and for the issue, by gift or sale, of their contents to the colonists and native inhabitants.

But as the Parent Board is entitled to reap its share of success and increased reputation to the cause of Colonization, even in measures not primarily of its own suggestion or originating, its counsel and guidance are invoked in the present enterprise by the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania. The Auxiliary here invites the sanction of the principal to the measures now in progress by the latter for the selection and purchase of land for a new colony, the appointment of a home Agent and a Governor, and the enactment of such laws as experience shall indicate in addition to, or in modification of those already in force in Liberia. Until the sanction by formal consent be given to these steps, as well as those which may be afterwards taken toward the attainment of the great objects in view—colonizing and Christianizing Africa, the Young Men's Society will feel itself deprived of that countenance and support to which it looks with continued hope and affection. It is proposed, moreover, the better to secure joint action and to preserve to the Parent Board its right of general superintendence, that a special agent should be despatched from time to time, from Monrovia, to visit the new colony, and be instructed to give his aid and counsel towards maintaining a right understanding between it and the other colonies on the coast.

With these explanations (made in a spirit of perfect good will and fellowship) of their understanding of the Auxiliary connexion and relation which the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania have with the Parent Board at Washington, the Executive Committee submit the following resolution:—

*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, agree to the terms proposed in the second resolution of the Parent Board recently received, (and annexed hereto), respecting the transmission by the latter to the former, as from principal to auxiliary, of the manumitted slaves of the late Dr. Hawes of Virginia; and that they will proceed forthwith to complete the necessary arrangements for a new colony at or near Bassa Cove,—the first settlers in which are to be the said liberated slaves.

The above is a true copy:

JOHN BELL, *Chairman*.

TOPLIFF JOHNSON, *Secretary of the Board of Managers*.

Whereupon it was, on motion, unanimously

*Resolved*, That the said Report, adopted and transmitted by the Managers of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, meets the approbation of this Board, so far as the same is in accordance with the Report adopted by this Board on the 3rd day of July last, in which their views of the relations between Auxiliary Colonization Societies and the Parent Society, were distinctly set forth, and of which a copy was transmitted to the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania.

*Resolved*, That the Resolution of the Managers of the said Young Men's Colonization Society, accompanying the aforesaid Report, adopted and transmitted by them, agreeing to the terms on which the Parent Board had consented to transfer to the said Young Men's Colonization Society the colonizing in Liberia of certain manumitted slaves of the late Dr. Hawes of Virginia, is entirely satisfactory to this Board; and that this Board will place said manumitted slaves under the care of said Young Men's Colonization Society for the purpose aforesaid, and will afford to them every facility in the use of the receptacles, and in the countenance, aid and assistance of the Agents of the Parent Society, at the colony, that may be wanted to promote the comfortable settlement of said manumitted slaves at their proposed residence within the Liberian territory.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania.

Published by order of the Board.

Attest:

JAS. LAURIE, *President*.

P. R. FENDALL *Recorder*.

## REVIEW.

KAY'S TRAVELS IN CAFFRARIA.—CONCLUDED FROM p. 173.

[From the *Edinburgh Review*, January 1834.]

*Travels and Researches in Caffraria: describing the character, Customs, and Moral Condition, of the Tribes inhabiting that portion of Southern Africa: With historical and topographical Remarks, illustrative of the State and Prospects of the British Settlement on its Borders, the introduction of Christianity, and the Progress of Civilization.* By STEPHEN KAY, Corresponding Member of the South African Institution. 12mo. London: 1833.

The accounts which Mr. Kay gives of the system of Military Reprisals, which has long been maintained by the colonial authorities, in their relations with the frontier tribes, affords a humiliating picture of European policy and humanity. This is not a novel topic: from the time of Sparrman to the present, almost every writer on the Cape has denounced the revolting injustice and barbarous impolicy of what is locally termed the 'Commando System.' Mr. Barrow exposed its iniquity and cruelty in the strongest terms, as exercised, at the period of his visit, more especially against the miserable race of Bushmen. Many details of its atrocities on the northern frontier were published by Mr. Thompson in 1827.\* Dr. Philip has given the rise and progress of this system from the earliest records of the colony down to 1828, when his valuable work appeared;† and several subsequent writers on South Africa—Bannister,‡ Rose,§ Pringle, &c., not to mention the printed reports of His Majesty's Commissioners of Enquiry||—have furnished lamentable and unanswerable evidence, that the same shortsighted and barbarous policy is still continued with but a very slight and inefficient modification. 'I do not consider,' says Lieutenant Rose, 'the Caffers a cruel or vindictive people. 'The policy adopted towards them has been severe: for when did Europeans respect the rights of the savage? By the Dutch Border-farmers, over whom their government had little control, they are said to have been slaughtered without mercy—to have been destroyed as they destroyed the wolf. At no period, I believe, since the English have been in possession, has wanton cruelty been committed; but the natives have at different times been driven back from boundary to boundary, and military posts have been established in the country from which we have expelled them. Orders, too, have been issued that all Caffers appearing within the proclaimed line

\* *Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa.* Second Edition. Vol. i, p. 392-7.

† *Researches in South Africa; illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes.* By the Rev. J. Philip, D.D.

‡ *Humane policy: or Justice to the Aborigines of New Settlements essential to a due expenditure of British Money, and to the best Interests of the Settlers. With suggestions how to civilize the Natives by an improved administration of existing means.* By S. Bannister, late Attorney-General in New South Wales. London, 1830.—This work, which has not received attention at all adequate to the importance of its contents, contains some valuable details respecting the Cape frontier system, well deserving the serious consideration of the Colonial Department.

§ *Four Years in Southern Africa* By Cowper Rose, Royal Engineers. London, 1829.—See p. 74-77, 94.

|| *Reports of the Commissioners of Enquiry upon the Administration of the Government at the Cape of Good Hope.* Dated 6th Sept. 1826. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1st May, 1827. See p. 20.

should be shot.'—'In 1810, the Great Fish River was proclaimed the eastern limit of the Colony. In 1820, Gaika, a powerful chief *whom we had aided in his wars*, was obliged to evacuate a rich extent of land lying between that river and the Kirsamma. On this occasion he is said to have remarked, "that though indebted to the English for his existence as a Chief, yet, when he looked upon the fine country taken from him, he could not but think *his benefactors oppressive*."—It is not strange that the savages should be unable to see the justice of all this; that they should be troublesome neighbours to the settlers in a country of which they had been dispossessed. They were so: such instances were exaggerated, and a *Commando* (an inroad of military and boors) was the frequent consequence. The crimes were *individual*, but the punishment was *general*; the duty of the *Commando* was to destroy, to burn the habitations, and to seize the cattle, and they *did their duty*.'—'I hate the policy that turns the English soldier into the cold-blooded butcher of the unresisting native; I hate it even when, by the calculator, it might be considered expedient; but here it is as stupid as it is cruel.' Rose's *Four Years in South Africa*, p. 74-6.

Such is the account of our Caffer frontier policy, given by an officer for some time stationed on the Caffer frontier, and officially cognizant of the transactions he thus characterises. Let us now turn to Mr. Kay. In noticing (p. 88) the extreme alarm spread among the natives by the rumour of a *Commando* having entered their country from the colony, he remarks, that the 'barbarously indiscriminate manner in which military expeditions have sometimes rushed upon the tribes, spreading desolation and death on account of robberies committed by *individuals* unknown, has naturally rendered the very sound of such expeditions dreadful throughout the land.'—An entire chapter (pp. 241-266) is occupied with the history of the treatment experienced by the Amakosa clans from the Colonial Governments, Dutch and English, from an early period down to 1820. We cannot find room for any of the details; but many of them are such as to excite reflections of the most painful character. The authenticity of the principal facts cannot, we fear, be questioned: they rest not only on the testimony of travellers, but on official documents, and on the statements of the local government in its official Gazette. Some of these atrocities rival any thing we have read of the conduct of certain States of North America towards the native Indians.

While such has been the treatment of neighbouring tribes, and of recognised *allies* (as in the above case of Gaika,) more distant hordes have, it appears, been occasionally assaulted with even less ceremony. Mr. Kay gives us the following example (p. 330): In June, 1828 rumours reached the colony that the warlike Zoolu Chief, Chaka, had invaded the Amaponda territory, and as this Chief had lately sent two of his principal captains on a friendly embassy to the Colonial Government, an officer was very properly despatched with an armed escort of about forty men, with the view of obtaining an amicable conference with this African Cæsar, and mediating a peace. On reaching the Amaponda territory, however, the party found that the Zoolu invaders had retreated, but being solicited by an Amatembu Chief to assist him with their fire-arms in an attack upon another horde, they altered the direction and object of their expedition. This was the Amanwana or Ficani, a tribe who had been driven from their own territory by the devastating career of the Zoolus; and who were now pressing upon the Amatembu territory from the north. The F'ish party, unhappily, so far forgot their character of mediators as to become parties in these intestine broils. They made a charge on this Amanwana horde, and captured

20,000 head of cattle, which were given to their new ally the Amatembu King. This was rather an unfortunate close to amicable designs. It might, however, possibly have arisen from sudden impulse or misapprehension; but what shall we say for the sequel? We give, without comment, Mr. Kay's statement: — 'About a month after the above-mentioned skirmish, a strong military force, together with several hundred armed colonists, were hurried into the interior, to the distance of nearly three hundred miles from the colonial boundary, where they were immediately joined by an immense host of Kaffers, who proved themselves to be Kaffers indeed! Flushed with the hope of conquest and abundant spoil, having got an ally so powerful in their van, the natives hastened onward to the combat, pointing out exactly the site whereon was erected the temporary huts of the Amanwana. On the Sunday evening, the troops arrived within a few hours' march of the spot; and, after halting an hour or two, again proceeded, with a view of taking them by surprise ere dawn of day the following morning. In this they succeeded; so that while the greater part of the people were still fast asleep, the rushing of horses, the clashing of spears, and the horrid roar of musketry, poured in upon them\* on every side. Who can conceive of a situation more awful? The thought makes one's very blood run cold. If we had not heard the details of this sanguinary affair confirmed by more than fifty eyewitnesses, we could not possibly have given credence to it; so strange was the plan, and so barbarous its results! A respectable British officer, whom duty required to be on the spot, candidly declared to the author, that it was *"one of the most disgraceful and cold-blooded acts to which the English soldier had ever been rendered accessory."*

'The moment our troops arrived on the summit of the eminence that overlooked the vale in which the Matuwana and his men were lying, orders were given for all to gallop down amongst the houses. Their affrighted occupants then poured out in droves, and a dreadfully destructive fire was forthwith opened upon them. Very few seconds elapsed ere every hut was vacated, and thousands seen scampering off in every direction. — Numbers, gaunt and emaciated by hunger and age, crawled out of their miserable sheds, but with pitiable spathy sat or laid down again, as if heedless of their fate. Many of the females cast away their little ones, the more readily to effect their own escape; whilst others actually plunged into the deepest parts of the river with infants upon their backs. In this situation some were drowned, others spared, and many stoned to death by the savage throng; insomuch that the water was at length literally dyed with blood.'

This is an appalling statement; and brought forward as it is by a respectable man, then resident in the Caffer territory, and who appeals to the authority of British officers, and 'the unanimous testimony of numbers who were present during the whole affray,' it will not fail, we trust, to attract due attention in the proper quarter, and lead forthwith to that thorough investigation which appears to be imperatively required for the purposes of justice, as well as for the vindication of the national character.

In the concluding chapter Mr. Kay gives a statement of the circumstances attending the seizure (or *cession*, as it is termed) of a tract of country extending to eighteen hundred square miles, eastward of the old Colonial boundary, and the forcible expulsion from it of the Caffer inhabitants. —

\* It has indeed been said, that a parley was attempted; and for the honor of our countrymen, we cannot but wish that this could have been proved. Unhappily, however, the unanimous testimony of numbers who were personally present during the whole affray, is altogether against this assertion, showing too clearly, that time was not allowed for any thing of the kind.



The facts as here stated, (and a report of the Commissioners of Enquiry is referred to as one of his chief vouchers,) are of a character that again remind us most forcibly of the treatment of the Creek and Cherokee Indians, as detailed by Mr. Stuart in his late valuable work on the United States.\* If correctly represented, they may well make us blush for the honor of our country. 'When did Europeans,' exclaims Mr. Rose, 'respect the rights of the savage!' But though past iniquities cannot be recalled, nor perhaps to any great extent redressed, surely our present Government will promptly adopt effective precautions to prevent the repetition of outrages not less disgraceful to the British name, than detrimental to the progress of civilization and Christianity among these interesting tribes. 'It is of vital importance,' says Mr. Kay, 'to the peace of the frontier, and the civilization of our neighbours, that such measures be adopted, as shall in future protect (their rights), and prevent all further encroachment upon them.—As already shown, much good feeling has of late been manifested towards the tribes in many different ways: but we have not as yet by any means extended to them that protection which they reasonably demand at our hands, and which our increased intercourse renders absolutely necessary. Hence numbers are at this moment suffering most grievously from their rights being shamefully trampled under foot, and their clanish feuds materially promoted by lawless colonists, English as well as Dutch, who, when once beyond colonial precincts, seem to laugh both at law and legislators, scrupling not to commit acts of aggression and cruelty quite equal to those of former years.' After relating a recent case of a very revolting description, in which a Cape trader (an Englishman) and a Caffer chief were parties, and where the terms 'civilized and savage,' appear to have changed sides, Mr. Kay emphatically remarks, 'that the astonishing supineness with which deeds of this horrid character are treated; would really seem to confirm a doctrine that has again and again been gravely argued, namely, that "crimes committed without the Colony are not cognizable within."—Pp. 498, 500.

'The unprotected state of the tribes on the northern frontier,' he adds, 'is, if possible, still more distressing. There, numbers of Dutch Boors, despite both of right and remonstrance, are continually trespassing upon the lands of the Aborigines, and treating them in a manner the most oppressive.'—'It is an incontrovertible fact, that these tribes are molested, that they are seriously injured, and that in many different ways. The game upon which some of them (the Bushmen hordes) have entirely to depend for subsistence, is by these Nimrods destroyed, the scanty pasturage of their fields consumed, and their children often reduced to a state of complete vassalage.'—'Barrow records that the Boors used to obtain slaves from beyond the boundaries westward; and certain it is, that the evils of slavery are at this moment increasing on our north-eastern borders, where it is not sufficiently checked by the established authorities. The daily encroachments of Dutch farmers upon lands beyond these frontiers greatly facilitate the practice.'—'Such,' in conclusion he observes, 'are some of the evils under which, notwithstanding all our boasted benevolence and good feeling towards the long oppressed African, we are still leaving him to perish, and that on our very threshold. With wiser men we now leave the case, that they may devise a remedy. Devised some remedy must be, and that speedily, if we wish to maintain the honor of our character either as Britons or as Christians. In 1826 his Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry declared, that they could only hope for a reduction of the heavy expense, now incur-

\* See Stuart's *Three years in North America*, vol. ii, p. 166.

red in maintaining the defence of the frontier, by the progressive extension of more amicable relations with the tribes;' adding, moreover, that 'it is at once consolatory and satisfactory to reflect, that any measures tending to preserve the tranquillity of the frontier on the side of Caffraria, will in the same degree contribute to the prosperity and commercial enterprize of the colony.'—Pp. 502, 504, 506.

Connected with this painful topic is that of the lamentable deterioration of character, in the case both of the civilized man and the savage, which appears to have, in this quarter, resulted from their intercourse. 'It did not strike me,' says Lieut. Rose, 'that the savage tribes are improved by their intercourse with us.' 'Gaika, the neighbouring chief, dressed with an old regimental jacket, was in the fort with his retinue of twenty-five wives; and it was not without interest that I looked on one of whom Barrow had prognosticated so highly. He was then nineteen, he is now fifty; and melancholy has been the change that has taken place in the interval. The English have given him their protection, and with it their vices; and he is a sunk and degraded being—a wretched savage, despised and suspected by his tribe, continually intoxicated, and ever ready to sell his wives for brandy.—Such are the fruits of our protection! such have ever been the effects on the savage, of the kindness of the civilized. If we find them simple and trusting, we leave them treacherous; if we find them temperate, we leave them drunkards; and in after-years, a plea for their destruction is founded on the very vices they have learned from us!'—(P. 94.)

This is one side of the picture: Mr. Kay gives us the other. He is speaking of some Europeans, partly Englishmen, who, owing to desperate fortunes, or impatience of the restraints of civilized life, have domiciled themselves among the native tribes. 'In such a situation,' he remarks, 'men soon become deaf to the checks of better principles. Fancied insult arouses revengeful feelings; unrestrained passions speedily generate incredible licentiousness, whilst avarice and self-interest prompt to acts the most iniquitous. There is a significant phrase frequently used on the coast of Guinea, that such a man is "grown black." It does not mean an alteration of temper, but of disposition.' 'And, incredible as it may appear, there are now in Caffraria, also, Englishmen whose daily garb differs little from the beast-hide covering of their savage neighbours; whose proper color can scarcely be identified from the filth that covers them; and whose domestic circles, like those of the native Chieftains themselves, embrace from eight to ten black wives or concubines.'—(P. 400.)

There are several other topics we could have wished to notice, but we can only, at present, briefly advert to one or two of them. The author's observations upon the Bechuana and Zoolu (or Amazulu) tribes, do not require any particular remarks as he has added little to the information collected by Burchell and Thompson. There is, however, a valuable chapter on the frontier trade, of which we regret that we cannot give a summary.—From his remarks on this topic, and on the British settlement of Albany generally, we are glad to find that this district, the distresses of whose new inhabitants, a dozen years ago, made an impression in England so unfavourable to the capabilities of South Africa, is now decidedly the most prosperous part of the whole Cape Colony. Of this improvement, the prohibition from employing slaves is generally acknowledged to have been the leading cause. This restriction was rendered effectual by a judicious clause in the grants of land to the British settlers.

A still more remarkable and unexpected proof of the advantages of freedom and free labor over servitude and coercion, was witnessed by Mr. Kay, on visiting a colony of emancipated Hottentots, who, in the year 1829, were planted in a wild valley on the new Caffer frontier, called the Kat

River. Under the old system, this class of people were reduced to a more degraded and hopeless condition than even the negro slaves themselves.— They were more despised and worse treated; and their indolence, improvidence, and drunkenness were proverbial. By the exertions, however, of a few friends of humanity, the British Government was prevailed upon to order the immediate total and unconditional emancipation of this race of men. The execution of this decree, by which 30,000 souls were in one day released from thralldom, was accompanied by a great clamour throughout the colony. The ruin of the community, and more especially of the Hottentots themselves, was predicted as the inevitable result. Five years have since elapsed; and every account that has been published, proves the effect of rational freedom in elevating the human character. The improvement of the Hottentot nation during these years has been surprising. But above all, surprising has been the effect of new and higher stimulants upon a portion of this race, from four to five thousand in number, who were placed by Captain Stockenstrom, (the intelligent officer who first suggested this measure,) in the valley of the Kat River, in 1829. We cannot make room for the full details; but must content ourselves with extracting the following interesting facts from Mr. Kay's account:—

‘Their numbers in the settlement are about five thousand. They came from different parts of this immense Colony. No assistance was promised or given to them, except fire-arms for self-defence; no preparations were made for their reception; no rations, no implements, no sums of money. The Boors showed no kindness to them. But to these negations I have to add that there have been no strifes, divisions, or discontents among them; no peculiar sufferings. No case of crime has come from the Kat River before the Circuit Court. Their success has been equal to their industry and good conduct, and neither have ever been surpassed. By patient and judicious labour, with manly moderation and Christian temperance, they have converted the desert into a fruitful field. “Hitherto,” says the *Graham's Town Journal* (a paper generally unfriendly to the native race,) “great activity has been displayed, and the incipient marks of civilization are observable in every direction. During the last season, 1831, were produced on the settlement 450 muids of wheat, 1500 muids of barley, and 400 muids of Indian corn, besides large quantities of caffer corn, potatoes, pumpkins, sweet cane, and many other provisions. Independently of the labour required in the cultivation of the soil, instances of uncommon exertion are manifested in the construction of canals which convey water to irrigate their fields and gardens. In some places these have been carried through the solid rock; in others it has been necessary to cut to the depth of twelve feet to preserve the level; while their entire length throughout all the locations is upwards of 20,000 yards.”—(*Graham's Town Journal*, June, 1832.) The Hottentot, escaped from bonds, stood erect in his new territory; and the feeling of being restored to the level of humanity and the simple rights of nature, softened and enlarged his heart, and diffused vigour through every limb. He is no longer the timid wretch, submitting to the violence, and yielding to the injustice of the proud with apparent insensibility.”—P. 490.

In conclusion we thank Mr. Kay for his ‘Researches,’ and hope many of his brother Missionaries will follow the example that has been set in the present work, and in the publications of Dr. Philip and Mr. Ellis, in communicating information respecting the tribes among whom they have been resident. We cannot, however, place Mr. Kay's Book on a level with the two we have just mentioned. It contains a good deal of valuable information, but it is ill-digested and confusedly arranged. A large portion of the work is mere repetition. Whole chapters consist almost entirely of extracts from recent and well known publications on the Cape, and what is more reprehensible, many of the quotations are not duly acknowledged. Should a second edition be required, the author ought to revise the whole work carefully, to introduce a stricter uniformity and correctness in proper names and to retrench and condense what he has borrowed from others.

## REPORT

*Of the Committee to whom was referred the subject of the Religious Instruction of the Colored population, of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, at its late Session in Columbia, S. C.—Published by order of Synod.*

(CONTINUED FROM p. 177.)

The benefits which will flow from the religious instruction of the negroes, clearly show that it will be to our interest.

1. *There will be a better understanding of the relation of Masters and servants, and of their reciprocal duties.*

There are but few masters who have given themselves the trouble of solemn, prayerful inquiry into the number and nature of those duties, which they owe to their servants, and are in reason and conscience bound to perform, and but few servants who have been instructed as to the number and nature of their duties to masters. Great ignorance and indifference exist both on the one hand and on the other. Conscience sleeps. And although the reciprocal duties of master and servant are so important, and are so particularly defined in the Scriptures, we do not recollect to have heard a sermon from the pulpit concerning them. The reason for this neglect on the part of the Ministry, we cannot assign, unless it be, that they have partaken of the spirit of silence and forgetfulness, prevalent in our country on the general subject. It is a glaring and culpable neglect of duty, and we take occasion here to urge upon ourselves, and upon every minister connected with this Synod, repentance and reformation.

The principle which regulates duty in slavery, on the part of the master, has been thus defined:—"Get all you can, and give back as little as you can;" and on the part of the servants the reverse:—"Give as little as you can, and get back all you can." When we remember what human nature is, and when we observe the conduct of masters and servants, we fear that there is too much truth as to the existence of this principle.

Wherever such a principle prevails, even in a slight degree, there remains little room for an inquiry into and discharge of duty on Gospel principles. We feel that something is needed to unfold the reciprocal duties of master and servant, and to effect a change so that they may stand upon some common ground, and not act so entirely by contraries.

That something, is, the introduction of Religion. Religion will tell the master, that his servants are his fellow-creatures; and he has a Master in Heaven to whom he shall account for his treatment of them. Religion will tell the servant, "to be obedient to masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of heart as unto Christ. Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free."

The master will be led to inquiries of this sort:—In what kind of houses do I permit them to live; what clothes do I give them to wear? What food, to eat? What privileges to enjoy? In what temper and manner, and proportion to their crimes, are they punished? What am I doing for their souls' salvation? In fine, what does God require me to do to, and for them and their children, in view of their happiness here and hereafter? Light will insensibly break into his mind. Conscience will be quickened, and before he is aware, his servants will be greatly elevated in his regards, and he is compelled to do more for them. The government of the plantation will not be so purely selfish as formerly. His interest will not be the sole object of pursuit, and offences against that visited with sorer punishment, than offences against God himself. He will have an eye to the comfort, the interest of his people, and endeavor actually to identify their interest with his, and also to make them see and feel it to be so. It will be a delight to him, to see them enjoy the blessings of the Providence and grace of God.

Such attempts at a discharge of duty, will produce favourable influences upon the feelings and conduct of servants. Their duties will be understood, and better and more cheerfully performed.

2. *The pecuniary interests of masters will be advanced as a necessary consequence;* and in many particulars, increased attention to their temporal comforts, will contribute to the improvement of health; and the expense of lost labor by sickness, and of physicians' bills, will be saved. Their wants being more liberally supplied, and sharing more largely in the fruit of their labors, many temptations to which they are now exposed, will be removed; they will become more industrious and saving, and less addicted to crime. Their work will be more faithfully done; their obedience more universal, and more cheerfully rendered.

Religious instruction we view as the strongest auxiliary to governments of all kinds, even where it fails to transform characters; and its genuine effects upon servants will be, "with good will doing service as to the Lord, and not unto men."

And who can tell what the pleasurable feelings of a humane master will be in view of a moral reformation of his servants? He will thank God that he is, if not wholly, yet measurably relieved from perpetual watching, from fault-finding and threatening and sickening severity, and that he can govern to some good extent by the law of love.

### 3. *The religious instruction of the negroes, will contribute to safety.*

Many affect, or in reality despise all fears from our colored population, and the universal habit is, never to think of the subject, or to dismiss it as soon as it may be suggested. We cannot believe this to be the part of sound wisdom. What has happened may happen again; and such means should be set in operation, as may promise deliverance from danger. It is very true, that we are differently situated, in many respects, from any other slave-holding country, and that at the present time, so far as we can see, the hope of success on the part of the negroes, is forlorn. But no enemy should be despised, however weak, and no danger unprovided for, however apparently remote. Though success may not now crown any attempt, yet incalculable sufferings may ensue both to the one party and the other. *What means, therefore, will secure the country against danger such as we have intimated?*

Passing by the different means that have been suggested, we unhesitatingly affirm, that *no means will compete with that of religious instruction.*

The tendency of the preaching of the Gospel, even where its transforming influence on character is *not* realized, is to soften down and curb the passions of the man, to make him more solicitous of his favor: and to enhance infinitely in his estimation the value of human life. His conscience is enlightened, and his soul is awed. He knows, God reigns to execute judgment, and it will require great effort to excite him to unhalloved deeds.

But in those cases where character is transformed, we may repose confidence. The servant now recognizes a superintending Providence, who disposes of men and things according to his pleasure. He learns, that every man should abide in the same calling wherein he was called. That christianity comes not with reckless efforts to wrench apart human society; but to put into operation those principles of moral conduct, which will secure its happiness, and *peaceably* remove every kind of evil and injustice. To God therefore, he commits the ordering of his lot, and in his station renders to all their dues, obedience to whom obedience, and honor to whom honor. He dares not wrest from the hand of God his own case and protection. While he sees a preference in the various conditions of men, he remembers the words of the Apostle:—"Art thou called being a servant? Care not for it; but if thou mayest be free, use it rather. For he that is called in the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's freeman: likewise, also he that is called being free, is Christ's servant. Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the servants of men. Brethren, let every man wherein he is called, therein abide with God."

It is to the operations of these principles in the hearts of servants, that we look for safety; and we look with confidence *no where else*. We see nothing in the *natural* character of man upon which we can rest with satisfaction, nor can we rest with satisfaction in any measures that may be proposed to the exclusion of religious instruction. Include this means, yea make it a *primary* one.

We are aware that a large number, who have no knowledge of religion in their own experience, and who have not been careful to notice its genuine effects upon servants, will place little or no confidence at all in what we have now advanced. Men naturally walk by *sight*. They can place more reliance upon *visible preventives* of their own invention, than upon *principles*, wrought in the soul and maintained in supremacy by Divine power, whose nature they do not understand, and whose influence, however good, is invisible, and for that very reason cannot be trusted. They know practically no superintending Providence. They glory in their wisdom and in their riches and in their strength.—Whatever may be the decision of such persons, *Christians* have no choice left them. *Experience* of what religion is, and what it can effect for man, obliges them to embrace it as the only safe ground of confidence. We shall never forget the remark of a venerable colored preacher, made during a period of some excitement. With his eyes filled with tears, and his whole manner indicating the deepest emotion, said he "Sir, it is the Gospel that we ignorant and wicked people need. If you will give us the Gospel, it will do more for the obedience of servants, and the peace of community, than all your guards and guns and bay-nets." One such man is of more value to the community, than a thousand stand of arms and men to bear them.

Besides the general and special influences of the Gospel now adverted to, safety will be connected with its dispensation in two particulars, which we may not omit.

The first is, that the constant presence of white men in their religious assemblies, and free intercourse with them, will draw out their kindly feelings to masters, exert a restraining influence upon any spirit of insubordination that may exist, and at the same time, give opportunity for its detection.

And the second—that the negroes will be disabused of their superstition and ignorance, and thus be placed beyond the reach of designing men, wherever they may be. The most direct way to expose them to acts of insubordination, is to leave them in ignorance, and superstition, to the care of their own religion. Then may they be made the easy and willing instruments of avarice, of lust, of power or revenge. "*Keep them in ignorance*" is the dreadful sentiment frequently uttered, and not more dreadful than dangerous. *Ignorance*—*religious ignorance*, so far from being any safety, as many suppose, is the *very marrow of our sin against this people, and the very rock of our danger*. Religion and religious teachers, they will have; and if they are not furnished with the true, they will embrace the false.

When we impart the Gospel to the negroes, we lay a foundation for safety in God himself. *We discharge duty to them, and thus secure his favor and protection.*

All who have long and especially examined the subject of slavery, confess that it is a great and difficult one. We cannot now see the termination of it in our country, nor the nature of its continuance. Public opinion is every where divided on both these points.—In view of the whole subject, we would emphatically say, *Let us fall into the hands of the Lord*—let us do what he so clearly defines to be *present duty*, and we shall cast ourselves and our servants into His hands, and confidently rely upon Him to open to us what may be future duty, and to guide us and our servants, quietly and intelligently in the way that we should go. The path of present duty is the path of safety. But if we neglect duty, what may not come upon us? What may we not expect? What shall we not deserve?

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

## THE LIBERIAN COLONY.

*From the Kentucky Commonwealth.*

The subjoined communication concerning the proceedings of the Kentucky Colonization Society, will be read with particular interest at the present time. In our paper before the last, we gave a brief summary of the recent riots in the city of New York, which had their origin in the unwarrantable conduct of a set of fanatics who have taken to themselves the name of *Abolitionists*. In some senses of the term they have much claim to the appellation, for they are for *abolishing* some of the fundamental laws of human nature itself. Towards the accomplishment of the ends which they have in view, there are obstacles, obvious to the eye of reason, but which fanaticism cannot see. Prejudices of colour, prejudices of habit, differences of physical conformation, inequalities arising from unequal intellectual cultivation, a dissimilarity of moral sense—the inevitable result of a state of freedom and a state of bondage—all these, in the frenzied brains of agitators are to vanish in a twinkling of an eye, and, on the instant such an assimilation is to take place as would eclipse all recorded miracles. To reason with such men is vain; for, sheltered by an imaginary superiority in every attribute of intelligence, philanthropy, and virtue, they turn a deaf ear upon any suggestions differing from their own schemes, and attribute the difference to the calculations of selfishness or innate humanity. If their plan rested solely on its own merits, its absurdity would insure its failure. That it must fail, for all practical purposes, even the abolitionists themselves must now be in some degree convinced. But if they fail themselves, they are resolved to leave no effort untried by which they can destroy the colony at Liberia. They have already denounced the Colonization Society, its past labors and its future designs. The good which that Society has already done is decreed as an evil while its prospective operations are denounced as criminal in motive and in end.

Following up this purpose, they have, from time to time, published the most unblushing falsehoods, as to the actual condition of the colonists, and the character of the country in which they are situated. The colonists are said by them to be abandoned in morals and habits, while they represent the soil as a barren waste, or a sterile desert. They publish a journal in which they usher forth these misrepresentations to the world with all the outward show of a high order of benevolence, but in reality with the most diabolical intentions. *Pure philanthropy* rests on the immutable basis of truth, and scorns the aid of falsehood. In the eastern cities, where the abolitionists have made their greatest efforts, they have been met by the friends of the Colonization Society, with facts and arguments which have disabused the public mind, of the hallucination into which it had been thrown by a tem-

porary indulgence of unreal sympathy. The Society have had in their favor the concurrent testimony of many of our most distinguished naval commanders, and of other gentlemen of high character for intelligence and candor, all going to prove that the Colonists enjoy a degree of freedom and happiness, such as they never could have experienced in this country; that the climate is congenial to the colored man's constitution, and that the soil is fertile to an almost unexampled degree.

As the opportunities for personal intercourse with individuals who have visited the colony are not frequent in the Western Country, the Board of Managers for Kentucky sent a special visiter to Liberia, with instructions to observe with minuteness every thing which it was material for an emigrant to know. The person selected was Joseph Jones of Winchester, a colored man, who proceeded upon his mission, and after a considerable absence has returned and made his report to the Board. We were present at this examination, and can say truly, that we have seldom been more gratified than we were at the narrative which Jones gave of his travels. He is a man of great observation, intelligence, and candor, and has amassed a large amount of useful information. The general inference from his statements as to the present condition of the Colony, is, that it is flourishing—that the settlers possess within themselves, the means of rendering their situation comfortable in every respect, and that the soil is eminently productive. He remarked that the principal drawback upon the advancement of the colony, seemed to be an inordinate desire for trade, which had operated injuriously to the agriculture of the country, but that this evil was correcting itself. So many embarking in the same business had rendered it unprofitable, and that the colonists were beginning to improve their farms as the most certain mode of attaining a comfortable independence.

He stated one fact which is of great importance to those wishing to emigrate who have any capital to employ. It was the great abundance of labouring men and the cheap rates at which it could be procured. The natives of the country he describes as being perfectly willing to work, and labouring with great industry. They can be procured for what here would be equivalent to five cents per day; but in Liberia is estimated at about twenty-five cents per day. Competition among the natives for employment is active, and they are faithful to their engagements. In point of personal appearance, he says, that, when similarly dressed, it is very difficult to tell a native from an American settler. The intercourse between the colonists and the tribes is of the most friendly character, and there have been intermarriages between several of them and the recaptured Africans. Many of the natives speak the English language: and a strong desire is manifested for the further extension of the settlements. As a proof of his own conviction of the many advantages which Liberia offers to the free colored man over any thing which he can ever expect to enjoy within the limits of the United States, he has determined to return and connect his destinies with those of his countrymen, now in the land which Providence intended they should inhabit.

One such man as Joseph Jones will do more actual good to his kind, than an army of abolitionists. He intends accompanying the agent to the different towns of Kentucky, for the purpose of giving a general diffusion of the knowledge he has acquired of an extremely interesting country; and we would recommend every person who takes any interest in the Colony of Liberia, who may have an opportunity of hearing his account of it, not to let the opportunity pass by unimproved.

## KENTUCKY STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

*Present Condition of Liberia.*

The Board of Managers of the Kentucky Colonization Society, take pleasure in informing their friends, that Joseph Jones, a man of color, who was sent out by them to examine fully the situation of the Colony of Liberia, has returned and has brought back a favourable report. They herewith present to the public the examination which Mr. Jones has undergone in their presence, prefacing it with two resolutions of the Board, and a letter from the Governor of Liberia.

By order of the Board:

THORNTON A. MILLS, Cor. Sec.

August 1, 1834.

*Board of Managers, August 1, 1834.*

## RESOLUTIONS.

The Board of Managers having had an interview with Joseph Jones, a man of color, who was sent by them to Liberia for the purpose of making a personal examination of the present condition and prospects of the colony; and to make a report to this Board, after receiving from him a full and accurate account of his mission, unanimously adopt the following resolutions:

*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers are fully satisfied with the manner in which Joseph Jones has performed the services which were expected from him, that he is entitled to the thanks of the society for the great amount of useful information which he has, with much toil and labor, acquired for the benefit of the free people of color in this State, and that the Board recommend him to the kind and respectful consideration of all persons friendly disposed to African colonization, as a man of excellent character, of a clear and vigorous understanding; and possessed of those qualities which make a man useful to society.

*Resolved*, That Mr. Jones be requested to accompany our agent to the principal places in this State, for the purpose of giving information with regard to the colony.

## GOV. PINNEY'S LETTER.

MAY 10, 1834.

SIR: The bearer, Mr. Jones, having, as I fully believe, faithfully executed the business of the mission on which he was sent, is about to return to the United States, in the schooner Edgar. If the section of country from which he came can afford us one hundred men possessing the spirit of enterprise, and patience, and perseverance which he has evinced so far, they will bless the colony by their presence.

Mr. Jones' conduct whilst here, has been blameless, and a pattern for others, and I trust he will find favor before God and man. The vessel is to sail in a few hours, and must be an apology for brevity.

With great respect.

JNO. B. PINNEY, A. A. C. S.

## EXAMINATION.

At what time did you leave this country?

I left Louisville on the 28d of March, 1833, and New Orleans on the 20th of April following, and reached Liberia on the 11th of July.

How long did you remain in the colony?

Nine months and twenty-nine days.

Did you travel extensively, and what places did you visit?

I travelled fifty-nine days, and visited all the settlements.

How many settlements are there? Describe each one.

There are five. 1. Monrovia, the seat of colonial government, a seaport, and commercial town, that stands on Cape Mesurado at the Mouth of Mesurado river. It is about the size of Winchester, Ky. The soil on the Cape is rocky and gravelly, and not very productive. 2. New Georgia, the settlement of recaptured Africans, five miles from Monrovia on Stockton Creek, between Monrovia and Caldwell. Parts of two tribes, the Eboes and Congoes, live in the town, but on different sides of the street. They have intermarried with the colonists. They live partly by getting out lumber, and partly by agriculture. Their houses are built some in the native style, and some after the manner of the colonists. I suppose there are more than one hundred houses in the town. The soil is rich but sandy. 3. Caldwell, ten miles from Monrovia on the St. Paul's river. It is the largest settlement, and extends seven miles up the river. It is more prosperous than Monrovia. Farming is carried on more extensively here than in any of the other settlements. The soil is excellent. 4. Millsburg, situated at the Falls of the St. Paul's river, 20 miles from Monrovia. The settlement extends about three quarters of a mile along the river. The land is very productive. There is a sawmill now building opposite Millsburg. The dam and race are finished, and every thing is ready for the mill to be raised. The St. Paul's river is navigable to Millsburg. 5. Edina, at Grand Bassa, 60 or 80 miles south of Monrovia, on the coast at the mouth of St. John's river. It has been settled only two or three years, and some suppose it is the most healthy settlement in the colony.—

The soil is very fertile. There are about one hundred houses here. The St. John's river is navigable for small vessels. There is another settlement about to be made at the mouth of the Junk river. This river is larger than the Kentucky, and is navigable.

Describe the face of the country.

It is generally level, with a few small rises, but no high hills.

How far is it back from the coast to the mountains?

It is said to be upwards of thirty miles. The ridge of Junk mountains can be seen from Edina, and the Junk settlement.

Is the land well timbered?

Yes; it produces several kinds of wood, that are called oak, poplar, hickory and hackberry, though they do not resemble our trees, called by the same names, except some slight resemblances in the grain of the wood—the bark and leaves are different; and also mangrove, brimstone tree, redwood, baywood, mahogany and cotton wood. Coffee plants grow wild in the woods, also pine apples, limes, guavas and plantains.

Is the country well watered?

It has springs, branches, wells, and one of the rivers affords good drinking water.

Are the rivers well supplied with fish?

They have an abundance of pike, mackerel, cavalla, and tarpaun, and several other kinds, to which no name has yet been given, and oysters and clams.

What productions are raised on their farms?

Rice, cassada, plantains, bananas, soursups, guavas, Indian corn, arrow root, peanuts, coffee, and sugar cane.

How does the cassada grow and how is it used?

It grows like the sweet potato. It is a root sometimes two or three feet long, and three or four inches in diameter. The top of it resembles the Sumach bush. It is planted like the sugar cane, three or four slips in a hill. One hill will produce from a peck to half a bushel. When ripe it is boiled or roasted or dried and beaten into flour, and answers all the purposes of flour in this country?

How is the coffee raised?

It is raised from trees or bushes. A tree will bear in from four to six years after it has been planted. One tree will bear from two and a half to three bushels in the hulls, or more than one bushel of clean coffee. Mr. Waring has 1500 trees planted that do not yet bear.

Can cotton be raised?

It can be cultivated almost to any extent. It will grow from three to eight years without replanting. I have been in Tennessee, Georgia and North Carolina, and I think the cotton raised in Liberia is superior. The tree grows from eight to ten feet high, and is topped in order to make it branch out and become productive.

Can more than one crop be raised during the season?

There are two planting seasons, and two crops can be raised on the same ground.

What is the state of morals and religion in the colony?

The state of morals is much like it is in the United States. There are in Monrovia two Baptist and two Methodist Churches, and one Presbyterian Church, well supplied with Ministers. At Caldwell, there is a Baptist and a Methodist Church. At New Georgia, there is a Baptist Church, and a Methodist society that has no meeting house. At Millsburg there is a Baptist and a Methodist Church. At Edina, there is a Methodist Church.

How is the Colony supplied with schools?

There are in all, seven schools—a male and a female school at Monrovia; a male and a female school at Caldwell. A school at New Georgia, Millsburg, and Bassa. The teachers are all colored persons, and are considered competent. The schools are tolerably well attended—not as well as might be, but as well as could be expected in present circumstances. There are Sunday schools at all the settlements, except New Georgia, and about that I am uncertain.

What are the chief articles of commerce?

Camwood, palmwood, palm oil, ivory, gold dust, tortois shell, pepper, beeswax, and hides. Vessels often call, and the harbor is seldom clear of them. Many of the colonists own small vessels. There are nine in the coasting trade, and two more were building when I left. Most of these vessels were built in Monrovia.

What is the Government of the Colony?

The people elect their own officers, except the Governor. I was at an election, and it was conducted as elections are in this country. The laws are well executed. The Governor is a very worthy and capable man, and is active, and attentive to the wants of the people. Lesser crimes are punished by imprisonment, and stripes, and labor on the public works. No capital offence has yet been committed.

Are temperance societies encouraged?

Yes; the Methodist Church Conference formed themselves into a temperance society early in January last. In April last, I was at Caldwell at the formation of a temperance society—33 members joined the first night; and there are other societies at other places.

How are emigrants provided for on their arrival?

They are sent to a large building prepared by the Government, and are furnished with

provisions from the public store for six months. Their rooms are convenient. After the seasoning is over, each head of a family is entitled to one town lot and ten acres of ground within three miles of the town, or thirty acres over three miles.

What description of emigrants does the Colony need?

It needs *men*—strong, virtuous, enterprising, and intelligent.

What kind of clothing should emigrants be provided with?

They should have a mattress and bed clothes, and a full supply of cotton and woollen clothing.

With what kinds of tools should they be provided?

An axe, hammer, drawing knife, hoe, spade, auger, gimlet, saw, and file.

How many natives, do you suppose, are in the settlements?

About half as many as the Colonists. They are well disposed, and anxious to learn the habits of the Colonists. Some of them have adopted our dress, and can read, and have learned trades. Many come in from great distances in the interior.

Do the colonists appear satisfied?

I was particular in my inquiries, and I found the large majority well satisfied, and would not return to this country, if they could.

What is the military force?

It is strong enough for all necessary purposes. The natives are entirely friendly.

What the wild and domestic animals in the colony?

The wild are deer of several kinds, hogs, cattle, and goats, and the tame are cattle, hogs, poultry, and a few horses and jacks.

How do you like the climate?

The climate is more regular and healthy than in this country. After the Colonists become seasoned, they enjoy excellent health. The natives are stout and healthy.

What do you mean by seasoning?

Emigrants, in a short time after reaching the Colony, are attacked with a fever, and their indisposition is different in duration; some recover in a short time, while others have not entirely gotten over it in two years. A few have entirely escaped.

*From the Western Luminary, July 30, 1834.*

#### CONVERSATION ABOUT LIBERIA.

On Monday last we enjoyed the pleasure of an interview with JOSEPH JONES, a colored man who went out as an emigrant to Liberia, with the expedition which left this state in the spring of 1833. Jones is an intelligent member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, over forty years of age. He had been free for several years previous to his departure to Liberia, and resided in Winchester, Kentucky, where he pursued the vocation of a barber. He returned to the United States in June last, for the purpose of endeavoring to take to Liberia his wife and child, whom he left in bondage here.

We should have been highly gratified if every individual unfriendly to the Liberian colony, and the plan of African Colonization projected by the American Colonization Society, could have heard the plain, unvarnished, common-sense statement of this colored man. We think it could not have failed to banish many of their prejudices, and constrained them to acknowledge that the Liberian colony is at least doing *something* towards meliorating the condition of the black man, both here and in Africa.

Our conversation with Jones was free and unrestrained; and altogether informal. He had no set speeches to make or connected narrative to give, but spoke about the country he had visited and which he had deliberately chosen as his future home, like an observing man of honesty and integrity of character. We learned in the course of conversation, that he received no compensation from any one for the testimony he was bearing about Liberia, and he remarked, that he would be unwilling to receive any for such service, if offered. His statements respecting the face of the country at the Colony, the soil and productions, the state of religion, schools, &c. were in the main such as we have frequently laid before our readers, from the most authentic sources. Monrovia he represents as being in size and general appearance, about such a town as Winchester, Kentucky, with the exception of there being more brick buildings in Winchester. Millsburg, Caldwell, and New Georgia, he describes as such villages, as are every where to be found in this region. The soil he describes as somewhat sandy but very productive. He had seen as good Indian corn growing there as we commonly see in Kentucky. Rice is abundant, and very fine; buckwheat and barley also produce well; besides an abundance of vegetables and fruits which we do not have in this country. Fish were in great abundance. On being interrogated as to the climate, he stated, that he had never experienced any weather there near so hot as it now is here. That there was always a sea breeze which rendered it pleasant. There are five churches in Monrovia—2 Methodist, two Baptist, and one Presbyterian, he believed all under the care of colored men. There was a male and female school in Monrovia, also two schools in Caldwell, and one in Millsburg. He knew of the existence of three Temperance Societies.

He represented the people as being generally contented and apparently happy. They entertained sentiments of great respect for the United States, and copied them very close-

ly "*in every thing.*" Our informant stated that he had visited their courts of justice, and attended an election; and he found every thing done there in about the same way that it was in this country, except as he remarked, "*they had no lawyers.*" The habitations, clothing, and general manners of the people, were formed exactly on the model of the United States.

Although the most of the above information was familiar to us, as it is to most of our readers, yet it afforded us great satisfaction to obtain such information concerning so interesting a place as Liberia,—a spot towards which the eyes of the friends of the colored man in this country are turned with so much deep interest,—from one who had gone out from the midst of us, and in whose statements we could place the utmost reliance.

#### LETTER FROM LIBERIA.

The following letter, addressed to *William Tucker*, a free colored man, a merchant of this city, is from a man who was liberated by the Rev. W. L. Breckinridge, and went out with the expedition from this state in the spring of 1833. The letter was brought by Joseph Jones. We give it entire, with the correction of a few verbal inaccuracies.

March, 1834.

MR. WILLIAM TUCKER:

Dear Sir,—Gladly do I embrace the opportunity of writing to you, hoping these lines may find you well. As to myself and my family, we are in good health at this time; and now live on the waters of the St. Paul's river. We have settled on a farm of ten acres, and carrying on after the manner and custom of the place,—raising of corn, potatoes, cassada, plantains, and bananas, which is very good food, and which I am very well pleased with.

The country I am very well pleased with so far as I have seen. I also believe that we can make a very fine living here if we use industry. But if any person should be disposed to come to this place, I would advise them to bring every thing necessary, such as money, clothing, and cheap cloth,—knowing that in every new country these things are scarce and very dear.

I wish you to give my compliments to Mr. Blue and his family; also give my love to my children, one and all of them. I am yours sincerely, DAVID RICHARDSON.

[From the *New York Spectator*, June 12.]

#### LIBERIA.

We observed in a previous communication, that the Colony, at the time we were there, was at a stand—it was so represented to us. Trade had been overdone; yet, whatever might be the success of the efforts in colonizing the interior, the state of Monrovia shows that what has hitherto been effected has done much good. It will always possess some trade.—Judging from the *Liberia Herald*, the number of vessels that arrive and depart is not inconsiderable. Yet, undoubtedly, we must look to the settlement of the interior for any great advantages to be afforded. But few houses are to be seen from the sea, on the heights, at some distance from the Cape, yet from a rising ground in the town, on which is a fort and two or three cannon, the view over the houses toward the Cape, gives the mind a satisfactory impression. The *moral* of Liberia strikes one as excellent. There is an influence derived from many circumstances that lead one to this conclusion, although we should not look into it very closely, among which might be mentioned the dress, manners and intelligence of the people. As to intelligence, it may be mentioned, that while at dinner with the Vice Agent, and elsewhere, the conversation of his son, a young man of about eighteen, was of an order highly creditable to him. He had been far into the interior, and had been well received. The respect we witnessed paid the colonists by the natives, and particularly the Kroomen, is of importance in viewing the state of the colony.

A French corvette, that had been on the coast some time, was at anchor close in the shore, sent by the Governor of Senegal to return thanks to the colonists for attentions given to the crew of a shipwrecked vessel a short time previous. This has been stated before, but we advert to it now to mention, that some of the officers were in the habit of sleeping on shore, as we were informed. They were ashore, too, every day. The climate would prevent us from paying as much attention as could be wished to

examining the country at some distance from the coast; but as the colony increases, what might we not expect from the remarks and researches of intelligent blacks? A resident of Liberia, as the influence of the colony becomes more extended, will probably give us information of the interior which may become valuable in every sense. Of the two hundred recaptured Africans sent out by government, four only have died; this of course might have been expected, as it is their native land; but that they are doing well and thriving, is no small item as we view it, to the credit of the colony. Its results, too, are to be taken into consideration. In concluding, we may observe, we have no disposition to paint *en beau*, the appearance and prospects of the colony, or by becoming a party writer, to use language describing an African elysium. The facts mentioned are but few, but the appeal is to the judgment. Those who would wish us to take no interest in the colony, because it interferes with their own plans of exceeding philanthropy and patriotism, should visit it themselves, and we should be much deceived should they not hesitate before they would yet abandon it. D.

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### COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

*Address to the Managers and leading members of the Anti-Slavery and Abolition Societies of the Northern and Eastern States, and to all who are opposed to the Colonization of the Colored People of the United States, in Africa.*

DEEP RIVER, GUILFORD Co., N. C.

*Esteemed Friends,*—Having observed in the African Repository, and other periodicals, that you have taken a very decided stand in opposition to the constitution and operations of the Colonization Society, I regret much, that you have not kept steadily and firmly to your main purposes of universal emancipation, and the education and general improvement of the people of color; these are great and noble works for Christian philanthropists to be engaged in. Your Society has no doubt been instrumental in conciliating public opinion in favor of a general emancipation of slaves in the northern and eastern States; but remember it was *gradual*; and if you would let the American Colonization Society prosecute its plans without interruption, and still pursue your own proper business, you may yet be instrumental in extending gradual and universal emancipation from the north to the south, until it reaches from Maryland to New Orleans; and I am certain that the American Colonization Society will not oppose or interrupt you in any shape or form, but will be the better pleased the more you conciliate public opinion in favor of universal emancipation. I am a member of that Society, and have been a member of an auxiliary of yours for twenty years; and have generally been much pleased with the views and operations of both, until of late I have been truly sorry that the two societies should come so in contact with each other as to be in danger of weakening both. However, from the best information that I can obtain it appears to me that you are the aggressors; and instead of weakening the American Colonization Society, it has gained strength and numbers by opposition; though it is in rather a depressed situation at present for the want of funds; on account of so large a number of emigrants going to the Colony recently, (about one thousand within one year;) too large a number to go to a colony that contained but about two thousand inhabitants: the same proportion of emigrants to the inhabitants of the United States, to be landed along our eastern shores, would be embarrassing even to our Government and numerous community.

We who profess to be Manumissionists ought also to be Colonizationists, so far as to aid in opening and preparing an asylum in Africa for our colored brethren of America, both slaves and free, who desire to go to the land of their fathers. This was the primary object of the American Colonization Society from the first institution of it, and remains so. They have succeeded in establishing a respectable colony in Africa, under apparently insurmountable difficulties; which has become an asylum for about five hundred recaptured slaves, who have been settled there at the expense of this government, and more than one thousand slaves, manumitted by their owners, and sent by the American Colonization Society, since the Colony was founded; so that one half of the three thousand colonists are manumitted slaves. Have we abolitionists and anti-slaveites been instrumental in immediately manumitting half that number? or shall we not be willing, my brethren, to contribute of our earthly wealth so much as to keep these people from suffering? or shall we endeavor to impede the operations of a benevolent society that has spent so much time and money and risked and lost so many lives of valuable men, agents of the colony, the climate being unhealthy to white men, but not so much so to the man of color; shall we let them now suffer for the necessities of life? Shall we let the infant colony languish now when we see *there is almost an overwhelming inclination of the long suffering and captivated African race to return to the land of their fathers*; so great a desire they have to return from their long captivity that the number of emigrants last year was equal to one third of the inhabitants of the colony; and not only so, but *there are thousands in the southern States now willing and anxious to go*, if the colony was large enough to receive them, and the funds of the Society sufficient to defray the expense of their emigration. I know a number of instances of late, of owners who have sent their slaves to Liberia, not very far from my own place of residence, and I am well informed of a great many more at a distance, in different parts of the slave States, that are anxious to send theirs, and I know a number of free persons of color who would gladly go to Liberia—respectable and worthy people. Shall we trample under foot with impunity such an institution as this, which has at the risk of the lives of a number of their members, under Providence opened an highway and prepared an asylum with indefatigable labor and at great expense in Africa for all that race who desire to return there? Shall we proscribe a whole benevolent society because we think it has some evil designing men in it. We do not expect a pure and spotless perfection in any human institution; but let us remember that among the twelve Apostles there was a Judas, and the brilliant sun himself in the high firmament has his spots. Shall we let them all dwindle and suffer, both Colonists and Colonizationists, for the want of that means? No, we must not, but we will attend for a moment to the page of sacred history and hear the proclamation of King Cyrus to his people, and the long captivated children of Israel in his Persian dominions.

[Here follows a long quotation from the book of Ezra.

Mr. H. next quotes from Garrison's *Liberator* a paragraph in which he denounces the American Colonization Society, as resting upon "persecution, falsehood, cowardice, and infidelity," and declares it to be "a creature without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical," &c. and then goes on as follows:—]

Have you considered how many thousands of respectable men both in the northern and Southern states, are condemned by these dogmatical denunciations, or do you know that it indirectly includes the whole religious Society of Friends in North Carolina, Tennessee and part of Virginia; that constitute our yearly meeting, which contains between seven and eight thousand members. We have ever been the warm friends of the American Colonization Society, and still are. Our yearly meeting has in the whole, at different times, contributed thousands of dollars to its aid.

We have existed as a religious Society, and in a yearly meeting capacity, nearly a century; situated about the centre of the slave states, we have borne our testimony against slavery above fifty years; we pursued a regular course of memorializing the legislature for forty years on the subject of slavery, for laws to enable conscientious persons to manumit their slaves, but without success. We have in the course of ten years past assisted our people of color, our slaves in the eye of the law, [about one thousand] to emigrate to free governments, which has cost the society near twenty thousand dollars, in which we have been generously aided by other yearly meetings of Friends upon this continent, and a considerable portion of it from London yearly meeting. After all this, by the above positive denunciation we are indirectly assailed by the colonization persecutors, as liars, cowards, infidels, without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, unjust. Such language, my brethren, is not calculated to conquer enemies, gain friends, soften hard hearts, or convince infidels, even if it were true.

My main object is to bring to your view the trying situation of the Society of Friends in North Carolina, in regard to about five hundred people of color under our care, slaves in the eye of the law, as were the thousand we have sent away: and as some of you may not understand this subject, I will inform you in brief. When Friends first settled in America, they bought and held slaves like other people, not duly considering its inconsistency with christian principle; but about fifty years ago the society became convinced of the great evil of slavery, and formed its discipline so as to require our members to manumit their slaves; believing no doubt at that time, that the laws of North Carolina admitted of legal emancipation.—Whether they did or not, I cannot say, but such was the fact, that more than a hundred of our manumitted people were taken up and sold into perpetual slavery, either by a different construction of the law or an *ex post facto*.

In the mean time we consulted council and were advised to appoint agents in our yearly meeting, to receive the rights of slaves from our members—to hold them in a society capacity, according to a law of this state in 1776, incorporating all religious societies or congregations to hold property to any amount real or personal, except land, not to exceed two thousand acres, and worth not more than two hundred pounds a year. We then availed ourselves of the privilege of this law and acted accordingly; our members conveyed the titles in their slaves to our agents, until the society became possessed of about one thousand. We still continued to petition the legislature for a law for conscientious persons to manumit their slaves, but failed in obtaining it, until we thought it a hopeless case; the legislature becoming more and more averse to the emancipation of slaves, always giving as their main reason the great number and low character of the free people of color already in the State. And now for about ten years past, we have been deeply engaged in assisting our people of color to free governments until about one thousand have gone, as I before observed. We have about five hundred still in possession; and I must observe, that when we commenced the work of emigration, we had but about that number, the rights of others having been conveyed to us since, and they have augmented considerably by natural increase. We sent some to the state of Ohio, others to Indiana, some to Pennsylvania, and to other free States, as they are called. We sent one hundred and nineteen to Hayti, and several hundred to Liberia, all with their own consent and choice, for we have compelled none to go any where. But now for two or three years past, the prejudices of the people of the free States have been so great against the increase of a colored population, that we cannot get homes for them any where upon

this continent (except Canada, and that we think much too cold for southern people) though we have repeatedly solicited our friends in Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, by epistles from our meetings, for succour to theirs, by personal inquiry, and private correspondence. \* \* \* \* \*

At the present there appears to be no open door for the reception of our people except in Liberia; and we believe that to be much the most suitable place for them; and many of them would willingly go there if they could, but cannot for want of funds. Several heavy lawsuits have been commenced against us for about forty or fifty people of color within two years past, which suits we have good reason for believing would not have been commenced if we had been permitted to continue a regular course of emigration: but since that has been suspended, some avaricious heirs have come forward to our agents and told them if they would send them away to free governments they would not bring any suits for them, but seeing they did not send them away, they, the claimants, might as well hold them, as for our agents to do so. This they had not offered to do while the benevolent work of emigration continued its annual and regular course for ten years. These adverse circumstances have very much exhausted our funds. It is proper here to say, that the greater part of the expense of the before mentioned shipment was furnished by our kind friends of Philadelphia, and all the expense of the one thousand sent away, except about two thousand dollars that we raised ourselves has been kindly furnished by the different Yearly Meetings on this continent, and Friends of England, and to the lasting credit and Christian benevolence of the Friends of Philadelphia they have furnished more than half the whole sum.

Now, my brethren, I appeal to your good sense and Christian feelings. I am prompted to it for the melioration of the condition of the African race, and more especially and immediately for the deliverance of the five hundred people of color under our care from a state of legal bondage, for although we do not hold them as slaves, yet they are so according to law. I propose to your serious consideration the propriety of your endeavoring to conciliate public opinion in the free states, so far at least, that they may be willing to aid our people of color who desire to emigrate to Africa.

Now a few additional lines on the subject of reformation in our Abolition and Anti-slavery societies—there surely is need of it my friends, especially as it respects the style and manner of some of our distinguished members in treating this subject. They have been too harsh, and in some instances apparently vindictive, so much so, that some of the friends of humanity have mourned, and believed that these have not acted in accordance with the precepts of the Gospel, or under the influence of the good spirit of Jesus Christ our Saviour. \* \* \* \* \*

We ought to be true and candid in all our expressions and yet gentle; if in this manner we fail to make powerful impressions even on the most inveterate enemies to the good cause, in vain may we expect to assail them with satire and vituperation. The American Colonization Society have had cause to complain of this harshness, and some have acknowledged they are faulty and they have set out for a reformation; let us follow their example and let there be no jarring sound heard between these benevolent institutions, nor among the friends of this great cause throughout the world. Let all the philanthropic societies and all the Christian denominations keep in view the grand object, which ought to be that of cancelling the mighty debt which we owe them for the long, long and grievous captivity and degradation that they have suffered under us and our fathers, which cannot be done without their emancipation from a state of slavery, and the restoring as many of them to the land of their native habitation as desire to go. And let it be

done consistently with the peaceable principles of Christianity, and as much in accordance with the harmony and happiness of the various politics of the world as the nature of so important and complicated a subject will possibly admit of. Let us not be so solicitous about the organ or organs through which we think it will principally be effected, as about the object itself; and be sure that we be faithful and generous in furnishing the means.

I am your friend,

JEREMIAH HUBBARD.

### INTELLIGENCE.

**Colonization Reports.**—The 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 12th and 15th Annual Reports of the American Colonization Society being now out of print, it has been the intention of the Board of Managers to reprint them, but the state of their funds has not hitherto permitted the expense. This, they much regret, as they are solicitous to comply with many pressing calls, both from Great Britain and the United States, for complete sets of the Reports. The Officers of the Society therefore, take this method of requesting the several Auxiliary Societies and other friends to whom the Reports have been sent for distribution, to forward to the Colonization office at Washington, as many copies of those first enumerated, as they can spare or procure; for which, if desired, any other of the Annual Reports will be given in exchange. It is supposed that many of the Reports wanted, may be lying idle in various places, and may be discovered by a little exertion.

A compliance with the request now made, will, it is believed, be of essential service to the cause of Colonization.

#### EMIGRATION AND PROPOSED EXPLORATION. *Extract from the Journal of the Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society.*

*August 1st, 1834.*

It being a well-established fact, that emigrants arriving in Liberia during the rainy and sickly season, suffer much more severe attacks of fever, (which more frequently prove fatal) than those do who arrive in the dry and healthy season; and it being ascertained that the middle of the month of November is the best time to sail from this country to the colony—

*Resolved,* That, in future, this Society will endeavour, as far as practicable, to send out their emigrants to Liberia in the month of November annually, that they may experience the seasoning sickness of the climate as lightly as possible.

*August 7th, 1834.*

*Resolved,* That instructions be sent to Mr. Pinney, our Colonial Agent at Liberia, by the vessel expected to sail from New York about the middle of this month, to take the

earliest opportunity of carrying into effect the wishes of this Board (intimated in their Resolution passed February 20, 1834, published in the African Repository for March, and particularly referred to in the Supplemental Report of this Board contained in the number for the present month of the same work) to obtain, if practicable, a more healthy and suitable tract of country, at a distance from the sea-coast, than our present settlements at Monrovia and its vicinity are found to be, in order that agricultural pursuits, which are deemed more important than any other, may be pursued with unceasing, effective industry and intelligence.

#### COLONIAL PRESS.

In the African Repository for July last, were announced the contributions of kind friends of the Society in New York, for supplying the colonial printing press with the necessary apparatus. The following additional intelligence on that subject is extracted from the New York Spectator of August 20th:—

"All the materials were contributed in this city, and thirty dollars towards the press, by the manufacturers—Messrs. Hoe & Co. There was a balance due to those gentlemen of two hundred dollars, and a small sum for a keg of Printing-ink—in all about two hundred and ten dollars. This amount, we have the pleasure to state, has been remitted to us by Rev. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer—being a donation from the State Society at Albany."

The aid thus furnished to the colonial press, by the benevolent citizens of New York, is opportunely and judiciously bestowed. The Liberia Herald, though conducted with ability and in an interesting manner, has not hitherto received a degree of patronage which would enable the Proprietor to give to it an external

appearance suitable to its merit in other respects. Some time longer must of course elapse before the colonial subscription list can be expected to authorise an increase of expense in publishing the paper, it is highly desirable that it should receive a liberal patronage in the United States.

Subscriptions to the **LIBERIA HERALD**, will be received at the Office of the American Colonization Society. Terms **TWO DOLLARS** a year in advance.

[From the *National Intelligencer*, August 16.]  
**LIBERIA.**

*Messrs. Editors:* Many of your city readers will remember **JAMES BROWN**, a coloured man, formerly a resident here, and universally esteemed as one of the most intelligent and industrious men of colour among us.—He left this city for Liberia in November last, since which time many reports of his death, loss of family, &c. have been circulated among the coloured people of this vicinity. It will, doubtless, gratify his friends, and the friends of the colonization cause, to hear of his well-doing. We have to-day seen a letter from him, in which he expresses his great satisfaction with the country and his prospects. Indeed, he is already reaping the fruits of his industry and perseverance. At the time of writing (May 14th) he was convalescent, after a slight illness of 10 days from the "seasoning fever," with which himself and family were attacked. If you can find room for the annexed advertisement, taken from the *Liberia Herald* of April 29, it will probably do more to satisfy his coloured brethren here that he really is in Liberia than any thing that can be written. T.

#### **DRUGS AND MEDICINES.**

**J. BROWN**, Druggist and Apothecary, late of Washington City, respectfully informs the citizens of Liberia, that he has taken the house formerly occupied by **W. L. Weaver, Esq.** in Broad street, where he is now opening an extensive assortment of *Drugs and Medicines*, imported in the brig *Argus*, from the United States, which he offers for sale on reasonable terms.

Also, Spices of different kinds, &c.

Lamps and Lamp Oil, &c.

Liberia, April 23, 1834.

[**JAMES BROWN** carried with him, from this city, the respect of every man, white as well as black, who knew him. He spent several years in the store of Messrs. **Todd & Co.** of this city, druggists and chemists, in learning the business which he has commenced in Liberia.—*Editors Nat. Intell.*]

#### **GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF CONNECTICUT.**

Many of the Ecclesiastical Bodies of the country are beginning to express their opinions on the subject of

Colonization and slavery. There is deep and strong feeling at work for the benefit of our whole colored population. We rejoice in all wise and judicious measures for the improvement of their condition and the elevation of their character.

At a meeting of the General Association of Connecticut, on the 19th of June, the following resolutions were introduced by **Rev. Leonard Bacon**, and adopted.

1. *Resolved*, That to buy or sell human beings, and to hold them and treat them as merchandise, or to treat servants, free or bond, in any manner inconsistent with the fact that they are intelligent and voluntary beings made in the image of God, is a violation of the promises of the word of God, and should be treated by all the church of our Lord Jesus Christ as an immorality inconsistent with a profession of the Christian religion.

2. *Resolved*, That this Association regards the laws and usages in respect to slavery, which exist in many of the States of this Union, as inconsistent with the character and responsibilities of a free and Christian people; and holds it to be the duty of every Christian, and especially of every minister of the gospel, to use all prudent and lawful efforts for the peaceful abolition of slavery.

3. *Resolved*, That this Association regards with great sympathy and hope, the efforts which have recently been commenced by Christians of various denominations in the slave-holding states for the thorough instruction of the colored population in the Christian religion; and looks to the gentle and peaceful yet mighty influences of the gospel of Christ, as the great and indispensable means, not only of making the masters willing to emancipate and enfranchise their slaves, but also of preparing the slaves for the use and enjoyment of freedom.

4. *Resolved*, That in view of the recent exposition of their principles and plans by the managers of the American Colonization Society, in their address to the public, and in view of the efficiency, fidelity, and wisdom, of the present Governor of Liberia, as manifested in the narrative of his proceedings, contained in his late communication to the Board of Managers, this association entertains an increased confidence in that institution, and does hereby recommend to the ministers and churches of Connecticut to continue their cooperation in that benevolent undertaking, especially by contributing to the funds of the society at some convenient opportunity on or about the 4th of July.

#### **COLONIZATION MEETINGS.**

Pursuant to previous notice, a public meeting of the Fayette County Colonization

Society was held at the Methodist Episcopal church, at Lexington, Ky. on Friday evening, the 8th of August. A very large audience assembled, both white and colored.

Gen. J. M. McCALLA was called to the chair; and the meeting was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Kavanaugh, of the Methodist church.

Mr. R. S. Finley occupied a few minutes in making some interesting statements respecting the character, views, and future plans of the American Colonization Society, which he concluded by stating, that Joseph Jones, the coloured man present, had been sent out to Liberia by the Kentucky Colonization Society, to collect information respecting the country, with the view of returning to render a report of his mission. He had performed this duty well; and he took that opportunity of testifying to his intelligence and moral worth.

After Mr. Finley had concluded his remarks, Jos. Jones was introduced to the audience, and a committee of three gentlemen (Rev. N. H. Hall, Mr. W. A. Leavy and Mr. R. S. Finley,) was appointed by the Chairman, to propose questions to him on the subject of his mission to Africa. The examination occupied a considerable length of time, and was so conducted as to give the audience an opportunity of hearing the questions and responses. We have seldom attended a meeting at which more deep interest was generally manifested. The statements of Jones, in reply to the interrogatories proposed, evinced a sound and discriminating understanding, and showed conclusively, that the State Society had made a happy selection in their choice of agent to explore the Libe-rian Colony. A number of questions in writing were sent in by coloured persons; all of which were promptly answered.

On motion of Rev. B. O. Peers, a subscription paper was circulated and some collections made for the benefit of the American Colonization Society; and on motion of Rt. Rev. Bishop Smith, it was *Resolved*, That the thanks of this society and meeting be tendered to Mr. Jones for the gratification afforded in the interesting details of his mission to which we have this evening listened. And, on motion, it was *Resolved*, That the publishers of newspapers of this city, be requested to insert the proceedings of this meeting in each of their several papers. The meeting then adjourned.

"That the tendency of this interesting meeting was," says the Editor of the Western Luminary, "to exert an influence decidedly favourable to the interests of African Colonization, we presume no one who was present can doubt. We are glad that our fellow citizens in different parts of the State are to enjoy the satisfaction of attending meetings of a character similar to this."

#### AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

[From the *Carlisle (Pa.) Expositor*, July 8.]  
COLONIZATION.

We understand that a large number of

our citizens have lately formed a Colonization Society in this place. It is in contemplation to hold a meeting in a few days for organizing the society. The subject of Colonization has very slightly engaged the attention of the citizens of this place for some years past. The cause of this apathy may probably be traced to the unfavourable impressions which some have entertained of the colony of Monrovia. Many of the unfavourable accounts which circulated concerning the colony have been shewn to be either totally false or exaggerations. It is true, the friends of the colony have formed anticipations which have not been realized, but still, we are not aware of any real ground for discouragement. The only reasonable objection which we hear brought against the colony of Monrovia, is, that it is unhealthy. But this objection will cease when a system of agriculture suitable to the climate is introduced, for much of the mortality of that place was occasioned by the use of the tropical fruits. It may probably be some years yet before the disadvantages attendant upon emigrating to a different climate will be overcome. Experience will have to point out what course is to be avoided and what pursued. At the time of the first settlement of our western states, many of the settlers suffered for want of an acquaintance with the climate, soil, plants, &c. Even at the present day whole villages, and fertile farms have been deserted on our western frontier, on account of a sickness, supposed to be indirectly produced by some yet undiscovered poisonous plant; and all are aware of the distress of the first American colonists, which was incident upon their settling in a land with which they were unacquainted.—In an address of the Colonization Society now before us, dated 1827, it is said that, 'for the last five years not one person in forty, from the middle and southern states has died from change of climate.' But the new colony which has been formed by the Maryland Legislature at Cape Palmas is on a high and healthy situation. Even Europeans are said to have resided there for months without experiencing an hour of sickness. This Colony we believe lies about 70 miles south of Monrovia; the territory has recently been purchased by the Maryland Colonization Society from four African Kings.

One thing which will cause the colonization of Africa to receive the patronage of the friends of humanity is, that the slave trade cannot be effectually suppressed while the African coast remains unprotected.—The present laws which declare the slave trade piracy, are totally inadequate to its suppression. The slave trade is still carried on even in a worse manner than if no such imperfect laws existed. Slavers crowd their decks with their unlawful cargo, knowing that it is as dangerous to run the risk of being captured with a few as with a great number of slaves. When civilization extends along the western coast of Africa the

slave trade will cease. Mr. Leonard, a surgeon in the British Navy, supposes that out of sixty thousand slaves stolen from Africa, only two thousand are recaptured and returned.

**THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF CUMBERLAND COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.**

Agreeably to notice, a large number of the citizens of Carlisle, convened in the Methodist Episcopal Church, on Thursday evening the 17th July, 1834, at 8 o'clock in the evening, for the purpose of forming a Colonization Society, to aid in colonizing the free People of Color, in Africa. The following persons were duly elected officers of the meeting, to wit:

Hon. JOHN REED, *President.*

Rev. JOB GUEST,

Rev. GEO. E. HARE,

JOHN F. HEY,

GEO. FLEMING,

*V. Pres's.*

*Secretaries.*

The meeting was opened by an address to the throne of Grace by the Rev. Mr. Guest.

The object of the meeting was then stated by the President.

When on motion of Dr. Oliver Holmes, Jr. (who enforced the motion with some remarks,) a committee, was appointed to draft a constitution for the consideration of the meeting.

The following committee was appointed, to wit: Dr. Oliver Holmes, Jr. Geo. A. Lyon, George Metzgar, James H. Devor, Esquires, and Mr. Gad Day.

The committee retired for a short time.—During its absence James Hamilton Esq. offered the following resolution:

*Resolved,* That every inducement yet exists to encourage the friends of Colonization to persevere in their grand and noble undertaking of planting a colony of free-men on the coast of Africa. Which he supported in a number of forcible remarks pertinent to the subject.

The resolution was seconded by Dr. J. Paxton and sustained in a short speech. He was followed by George Metzgar, Esq. the same side, and by A. G. Ege, and Jas. H. Devor. The resolution was adopted.

The committee appointed for that purpose reported a draft of a constitution, which, after one or two slight amendments, was adopted, and is as follows, to wit:

*Article I.* This society shall be called THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF CUMBERLAND COUNTY, and be auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

*Article II.* The objects to which its labors shall be devoted, are—*First,* To provide for Colonizing and civilizing Africa through the direct instrumentality of Coloured Emigrants from the United States—*and Second,* To promote, by all legal and constitutional means, the intellectual and moral improvement of the African race.

*Article III.* The principles upon which this Society bases its operations, are, peace and temperance in aid of religion, dissuasion from warfare on the part of the Colonists,

and the prohibition of the acquisition of territory, except by fair purchase from the native Princes and proprietors of the soil.

*Article IV.* An annual subscription of not less than 25 cents, payable in advance, shall constitute an individual a member of this Society; the payment at one time of 15 dollars a life member; and one hundred dollars a life director.

*Article V. Section I.* The regular meetings of this Society shall be semi-annually, on the anniversary of the American Independence and on the first Monday in January.

*Section II.* The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, Directors, Secretary, and a Treasurer.

*Section III.* The President, two Vice Presidents, two Directors, a Secretary and Treasurer, shall be elected annually at a regular meeting on the anniversary of American Independence.

*Section IV.* The Pastors of Churches who make an annual collection in their respective Churches for the funds of this Society, shall be Vice Presidents thereof.

*Article VI. Section 1.* The President, Vice Presidents, Directors, Secretary and Treasurer, shall constitute a Board of Managers.

*Section II.* The Board of Managers, shall meet on the first Tuesday of April, July, October, and January to transact business of the Society and any three of them shall constitute a quorum.

*Article VII. Section I.* The Secretary shall keep a regular journal of the transactions of the Board of Managers, which he shall report to the regular meetings of the Society. He shall sign all orders upon the Treasurer, and all notices of the Society. He shall keep a fair and impartial account with every member, and upon the collection of any monies for the use of the society, he shall transmit it to the Treasurer, taking his receipt for the same in a book kept for the purpose, and shall perform all such other duties as the nature of his office requires.

*Article VIII.* The duty of the Treasurer shall be to take charge of the funds of the Society, and keep a regular account of its receipts and expenditures, and at the regular meetings of the Society to report the state of its funds.

*Article IX.* The President shall have power to call extra meetings of the Society; in case of absence or sickness of the President, one of the Directors may do so.

*Article X.* This Constitution shall not be altered or amended except at the anniversary meeting of the Society, by a vote of two-thirds of the members present.

The following committee was then, on motion appointed to procure signers of the Constitution, to wit: Dr. Oliver Holmes, Jr. Thomas B. Jacobs, Elisha White, J. H. Devor, and Wm. D. Ramsey, Esquires.

*Resolved,* That the Secretaries furnish each member of the committee with a printed copy of the Constitution.

*Resolved,* That the proceedings of the meeting be published, and that this meeting

do now adjourn, to meet in the same place on Friday evening the 25th inst. at half past 7 o'clock. Adjourned.

Hon. JOHN REED, *President.*

Rev. JOB GUEST, } *V. Presidents.*

Rev. GEO. E. HARE, }  
John F. Hey, } *Secretaries.*  
George Fleming, }

An adjourned meeting of the Cumberland County Colonization Society, Auxiliary to the American Colonization Society, was held in the Methodist E. Church of this place on Friday the 25th July. The Revd. G. E. Hare, V. P. in the chair. The following order of business was attended to:

1. The Committee to whom had been assigned the duty of soliciting the co-operation of the citizens reported, that they had procured the signatures of about seventy individuals as the result, in some instances, of a partial and hasty effort.

2. On motion, *Resolved*, That an opportunity be offered to any present to sign the Constitution.

3. On motion, *Resolved*, That this meeting go into an election of officers for the present year, agreeably to the Constitution of this Society. When it appeared the following gentlemen were elected:

The Hon. John Reed, *President*; Mr. Robert Irwin and James Hamilton, Esq. *Vice Presidents*; Messrs. Gad Day & Andrew Blair, *Directors*; E. White, Esq. *Treasurer*, and John F. Hey, *Secretary*.

4. On motion of G. A. Lyon, Esq. *Resolved*, That the Secretary address a note, to the ministers of the different churches in this place, requesting them in the name of this Society to take up a collection in their respective churches for the purpose of aiding the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, auxiliary to the American Colonization Society in their noble efforts now making, to provide for the emigration, to Africa, of the One hundred and ten coloured persons, manumitted by Dr. Hawes of Virginia; and that the Secretary be and hereby is authorized and instructed to receive all the monies that may be so collected and that may be on hand for subscriptions or donations, and transmit the same to the Secretary of the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, aux. &c. for the purpose aforesaid.

5. On motion, *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed by the chair, to procure subscribers to the Constitution. The following gentlemen were appointed, viz: Drs. L. Foulke and McNally, Messrs. Thos. Hennessy, Jno. Phillips, and W. S. Ramsey.

6. On motion, *Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Journals of this place.

7. On motion, adjourned.

JOHN F. HEY, *Secretary.*

*Constitution of the Colonization Society of Lane Seminary, (O.)*

ART. 1. This society shall be called the

Colonization Society of Lane Seminary; and shall be auxiliary to the American Colonization Society.

ART. 2. Its object shall be to collect and diffuse information upon the subject of American Colonization; to devise means of elevating that long neglected class of our fellow-men, the free coloured population of our country; by contributing to the funds of the parent institution, to aid those who may intelligently decide that it is for their interest and happiness to colonize in Africa, or elsewhere; by calm and dispassionate reasoning, to excite public attention to that odious sin in the sight of God, and foul stain upon our national character, negro slavery; and to endeavour, by kind exhibitions of truth, and appeals to the conscience and the interest of the slave-holder, to effect its speedy termination.

ART. 3. The officers of this society shall be a President, Vice President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall perform the duties usually connected with their respective offices; and an executive committee of six, whose duty it shall be to direct the correspondence, and manage the general concerns of the society.

ART. 4. The society shall hold meetings on the first Wednesday evenings of November and March, and an annual meeting on the first Wednesday evening of July. The officers shall be chosen annually at the meeting in November.

ART. 5. Any member of Lane Seminary may become a member of this society by subscribing the constitution.

E. S. HUNTINGTON, *President.*

L. BRIDGMAN, *Vice President.*

R. L. STANTON, *Secretary.*

J. H. MATTISON, *Treasurer.*

*Executive Committee.*

Z. KENT HAWLEY, S. C. MASTERS,

J. LAUGHLIN, J. WEEKS,

H. H. SPALDING, L. L. G. WHITNEY.

RICHARD LANDER.

The death of Richard Lander, the discoverer of the great geographical problem of the Niger, has added another to the numerous victims who have perished in the attempt to explore the interior of Africa. Accounts brought by the last English packet state that he was murdered by the natives several hundred miles up the river, whether he had gone on a commercial expedition.

The history of African Discovery is a history of unexampled mortality. Since the feeble attempts of the Portuguese and English trading Companies to penetrate into the interior; down through the numerous expeditions fitted out by the "African Association," and the British Government, how few—two or three at the most—of the travellers have survived the journey. Not one has survived a second attempt—Caille and John Lander are still living, though it would not be surprising if they should follow the example of their predecessors and renew their efforts—to share a similar fate. With this

fatal prospect before them, there have never been wanting persons ready to embark in the same undertaking. A more remarkable evidence cannot be found in history of the unconquerable spirit of enterprize, than the eagerness with which the places of the dead are filled up immediately by zealous competitors at the risk of martyrdom, in the cause of knowledge.

Our own countryman, Ledyard, was the first adventurer on this field, sent out after the establishment of the British "African Association." He arrived at Cairo, in August, 1788, and died there shortly afterwards.

The next was Mr. Lucas, who penetrated but a little distance and returned to Tripoli, abandoning the expedition.

The third was Major Houghton, the British Consul at Morocco, who undertook to reach the Niger by the rout of the Gambia. After being robbed by the Moors in the Great Desert he was abandoned, and perished of hunger and fatigue in 1791.

The celebrated Mungo Park followed.—The story of his first voyage, which he commenced in 1795, is well known. He returned safely to England after an absence of three years. His second and fatal voyage commenced in 1805. The large expedition which he carried with him, melted away before the pestilential influence of African climate. Of thirty-eight Europeans who started with him, five only were left, all sick and one deranged, when he embarked on board of his canoe, in Nov. 1805, on his voyage down the Niger, after which he was no more heard of with certainty until the voyage of Clapperton and Denham ascertained the particulars of his murder.

The Association had in the mean time despatched other travellers into Africa;—Horneman, who perished in 1810 by disease at a town on the Niger, and Mr. Nichols, who proposed to start from the Gulph of Benin and died there of fever. A German, named Roentgen was despatched in 1808, under the same auspices. He reached Mogadore, but was robbed and murdered a few miles from the place where he set out.

The narratives of Riley and Adama, both Americans, are next in order. They both survived a slavery in Africa.

The expeditions sent out by the British Government were not more fortunate than those of the Association. A grand enterprize fitted out in 1816 was divided into two parties, one to descend the Niger, and one to ascend the Congo,—the last commanded by Captain Tuckey, and the former by Major Peddie, with numerous attendants. Most of the officers of the Congo expedition perished. The captain, the zoologist, the botanist, the geologist, who accompanied it fell successively. The other party fared no better. Major Peddie died early; his successor, in command, Col. Campbell, soon followed; the third in command Lieut. Stockoe survived them only a few days. The miserable remains of the party returned in the fall of the year, 1817.

The next enterprize was conducted by Messrs. Ritchie and Lyon. The former died at Fezzan, and the latter returned safe.—Major Laing and Captain Gray, had a little while before made short expeditions into the interior, and returned without loss of life.

The important expeditions of Denham and Clapperton accompanied by Dr. Oudney, and Mr. Toole, were next in point of time. The journal of their first voyage is familiar to most readers. Mr. Toole and Dr. Oudney died on that journey. Clapperton's second voyage was accompanied by Dr. Morrison, and Captain Pearce. Their servant Richard Lander was the only survivor; the others died successively from the effects of the climate.

Major Laing, the next victim, was assassinated in the Desert.

The French traveller Caille was the immediate predecessor of the Landers on their first and successful journey. He returned in 1828. Their first journey was terminated in 1831. The second has added the name of Richard Lander to this long list of mortality. On looking over, and marking with how few exceptions the attempts of all travellers have been fatal to them; one cannot but wonder at the pertinacious spirit with which the attempts are repeated.—*Balt. American.*

**Murder of Lander.**—There is reason to believe that the savages who murdered Richard Lander, were set on by the more savage slave-traders. These miscreants know that the extension of civilization along the coast of Africa, will put a stop to their abominable traffic, and therefore they evince the most deadly opposition to any and every measure which may open the way to civilization. They are very particularly hostile to the Colonization Society. Lander was killed about 100 miles above the mouth of the Niger, while on his way, in a long boat, to join the iron steam-boat, which he had sent up a few weeks before; she was to proceed about three hundred miles up to a small island which he had purchased from the King, and where he had a factory. "They had proceeded about one hundred miles up the current being strong against them; they were in good spirits, tracking along the shore when they were fired on from the bush; three men were killed, and four wounded, Mr. Lander was one of the latter. They had a canoe of their own, and at the time they were fired on the boat was aground, and, to save themselves, they were obliged to leap into the canoe, and make the best of their way; they were immediately followed by five or six war canoes, full of men, keeping up a continual fire for five hours, until it got dark, when they lost sight of them."—*Jour. of Com.*

#### SOUTHERN AFRICA.

At the Anniversary of the Wesleyan Miss. Soc. in London, the Rev. William Shaw, late missionary in Southern Africa, gave a most interesting account of the Caffre tribes

among whom he had laboured, which, we regret, want of space prevents our giving in detail. Among the effects Mr. S. stated to have been produced in the district of Albany by the diffusion of religious feeling, was the annihilation of caste, for now, English, Dutch and Caffers assemble round the Lord's table without distinction of color and condition. Speaking of the religious opinions of the Caffers, Mr. S. said that they imagined that God lived in a cave on the eastern side of the earth, out of which came the sun comes daily. They believed that men, dogs, elephants, &c., came out of that cave in the order mentioned at the creation. They exposed their aged relatives to death, and Mr. S. related an affecting anecdote of a mother who was bound to a tree in a forest by her own son after escaping twice, and allowed by him to perish, although he could hear her cries for food and water.—They believed that one of their number could cause rain; and Mr. S. was obliged to enter into a controversy on the subject with the rain-maker, who, when hard pressed to make rain at a time when the cattle were

dying for want of water, said that the sound of the chapel bell drove the rain away.—After a special prayer meeting for rain by the Caffer Christians, it fell in great abundance. The females were very cruelly treated, until Mr. S. obtained some laws to be passed in their favor, on which, out of gratitude, they gave him the name Kaka labafars; "The Shield of Women." At Graham's Town, Mr. Shaw said, a school for the instruction of native schoolmasters had been established, called "Watson's Institution," for which he collected above £200 in Leeds. The language of the Caffers had been reduced to writing, and part of the Scriptures translated into it; and Mr. S. related, very amusingly the plan he was obliged to adopt to teach the natives the use of letters, which was to call each letter one of his oxen, and its sound or power the name of that ox. Mr. S. concluded by stating that the best mode of making atonement to Africa, for the injury Europeans had inflicted on her, was to send missionaries to teach civilization and Christianity to Africans.—*London Patriot.*

### CONTRIBUTIONS

#### *To the American Colonization Society in the month of August, 1834.*

##### *Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.*

An Association of Gentlemen in Kanawha county, Va.	100
Part of Annual Subscriptions in the Millwood Episcopal Church, Frederick county, Va. by Rt. Rev. Bishop Meade,	140

##### *Collections from Churches.*

Alexandria, Pa. Presbyterian church, by Rev. Samuel Wilson,	10
Athens, Ohio, Sunday School,	5
Baton Rouge, in the Presbyterian church, by P. A. Walker, Elder,	20
Boardman, Ohio, Episcopal church, by Rev. J. L. Bryan,	2
Belmont county, Ohio, in Crab Apple congregation, by Rev. Jacob Coon,	12 51
Chenango Forks, by Rev. Mr. Janau,	2
Chester county, Pa. Episcopal church of St. Mary,	7 31
Delaware, by Rev. W. Matchett,	25
Fairfield, N. J. Rev. Ethan Osborne's congregation,	12
Fairview, Erie county, Presbyterian church,	5
Fishkill Landing, by Rev. W. S. Heyer,	15
Greencastle, Pa. Presbyterian church, by Rev. J. Buchanan,	32 50
Hempstead, Long Island, Methodist church,	8
Homer, N. Y. in Calvary church, by Rev. H. Gregory,	5
Jefferson county, at Springhill, Methodist church, Miss. Rev. B. M. Drake,	33 25
do at Fayette do do,	22
do at Bethell do do,	25
do at Zion Hill do do,	5
Kiskacoquillas, Pa. by Rev. Wm. Annan,	2 59
Lancaster county, Lacock's middle Octarora, Presbyterian church, by Rev. Joseph Barr,	12
do balance of last year's collection,	2
Lewistown, Mifflin county, Meth. Episcopal church, by Rev. S. Keppler,	15
Little Valley, Pa. by Rev. Wm. Annan,	2 41
Lynchburg, First Presbyterian church, by Rev. Wm. S. Reid,	5
Middletown, Pa. Evan. Luth. church, by Rev. A. Reck,	8 37
do Conn. in Rev. J. R. Crane's congregation,	45 38
Mount Holly, Episcopal church, by Rev. John Buckley,	2 35
Milton & Buffaloe congregations, by Rev. T. Hoad, each \$5,	10
Newark, Ohio, by Rev. Wm. Willie,	15
New Orleans, collection in Methodist church, 1833,	26
Norfolk, at Methodist Episcopal church, by Rev. W. A. Smith,	44 40
Northumberland, Pa. Presbyterian congregation,	5 27

Ohio, a collection received through Mr. Elliott Cresson,	3
Otis, Mass. Congregational church, by Rev. R. Pomeroy,	2 12
Paris, Oneida county, N. Y. Baptist church, by Rev. Zelora Eaton,	8
Philadelphia, Second Presbyterian church,	22 62
do Union Meth. Episcopal church, by Rev. C. Pitman,	35
Petersburg, Episcopal church, by Rev. Dr. Syme,	15 15
Pittsburg, Third Presbyterian church, by Rev. D. H. Riddle,	21 4
Pittsgrove, Salem county, N. J. Presbyterian church,	10
Portsmouth, Va. Baptist church, Rev. Mr. Hume,	6 71
do Meth. Episcopal church, by Rev. Dr. Leach,	16 62
do Protestant Episcopal church, by Rev. Mr. Wingfield,	16 63
do Methodist church, by Rev. L. M. Lee,	25
Port Republic, Va. at the church,	5
Prince George county, Md. in St. Paul's Parish, by Rev. Mr. Goodwin,	6
Salem, at church, by Dr. R. Peyton,	2 54
Silversprings, Pa. Presbyterian church, by Rev. J. Williamson,	10
Uniontown, Pa. Presbyterian church,	6 78
Upper Marlborough, in the Trinity church, by Rev. Mr. Swan,	6 25
Warrenton, by Rev. Wm. Williamson,	7 41
Washington, Pa. at the Presbyterian church, from D. Moore, Treasurer,	20
Washington county, Pa. Presbyterian church Cross Roads,	35
West Hanover, Pa. congregation, by Rev. J. Snodgrass,	8
Xenia, Ohio, Associate church, by Rev. Samuel Wilson,	18 25
do Associate Reformed church, by Rev. J. Steele,	5 25
do Reformed Presbyterian church, by Rev. H. M'Millon,	15 44
do Associated church at Massie's Creek, by Rev. Jas. Adams,	27 6
do From the citizens of the Village, independent of the Society in that place,	17
<i>Auxiliary Societies.</i>	
Ashtabula county Society, Harvey Gaylord, Tr. by Hon. E. Whittlesey,	30
Green county, Ohio, Society, by James Gowdy, Treasurer,	34
Hinsdale, Berkshire, Mass. Society, by Rev. W. A. Hawley,	16
Middletown, Conn. Female Society,	34 24
Portsmouth, Virginia, Society, now dissolved,	1
Virginia Society at Richmond, by B. Brand, Treasurer,	221
Warren, Ohio, Female Society,	16 13
<i>Donations.</i>	
Avery Joseph, Conway, Mass. annual payment,	10
Cresson Elliott, for J. A. Brown's subscription,	120
do for Mrs. Spohn's do,	40
Clark Brice, Esq. of Donnegall Township, Lancaster county, Pa. a Legacy, from him, transmitted by his Ex'r John Clark, Esq.	100
Columbus, Miss. the following gentlemen \$10 each, viz: Henry Dickinson, Wm. B. Winston, D. P. Lipscomb, Geo. Good, Wm. Dowsing, Wm. Neilson and Wm. H. Craven,	70
Marble Theophilus, Mississippi,	10
Noble Isaac, do,	20
M'Conaughy, Rev. Dr. President of Washington, Pa. College,	10
Pilson John, Locust Grove, Albemarle, Virginia,	3
Pollock A. D. Virginia, for three gentlemen \$10 each,	30
Snodgrass James Sproat, West Hanover, Pa. a Legacy paid by his Father, Rev. James Snodgrass,	24
Williamson James, Person county, N. C. annual payment,	3
<i>African Repository.</i>	
Mrs. E. Ward, Middletown, Connecticut,	4
John Pilson, Albemarle Virginia,	2
Geo. W. Kemper, Port Republic, Virginia,	3
Thomas Holt, do,	2
Dr. James Jones, Nottaway, by B. Branch, Esq.	10
Mrs. Kitty Minot, by do,	2
Dr. W. B. Westmore, by do,	2
J. Sprowls, Phila. by E. Cresson,	2
Simms & Scott, Tuscaloosa, Alabama,	5
N. F. Cabell, Warminster, Va.	20
James Williamson, Roxboro, North Carolina,	2
Richard H. Ball, Northumberland C. H. Va.	3
James Ewell, Lancaster C. H. Va.	2
Dr. M. Smith, New Rochelle, New York,	5
Jacob Landes and D. W. Naff, Sam's Creek, Md. \$2 each,	4
Miss Harriet Hart, Meriden, Connecticut,	2
E. A. Huntington, Schenectady, New York,	2

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REVIEW.—DR. HODGKIN'S INQUIRY.

*An Inquiry into the merits of the American Colonization Society: and a reply to the charges brought against it. With an account of the British African Colonization Society. By Thomas Hodgkin, M. D. 8vo. pp. 62: London, 1833.*

THE work bearing the above title, is the testimony of an acute and candid observer to the merits of the American Colonization Society. With laudable industry the author has availed himself of all the materials within his reach, capable of affording authentic information as to the objects of the Institution, and the history of the Colony established under its auspices. The result of Dr. HODGKIN's investigation is, as might have been expected under such circumstances from so enlightened an inquirer, a judgment highly favorable to the Society and to the great cause of African Colonization.

After some interesting references to the early history of Colonization, Dr. HODGKIN proceeds to refute two of the prominent objections taken against the Society:

The preceding facts clearly prove that the colonization of the people of colour is not to be regarded, as some have urged, as a slaveholder's scheme: it cannot even be admitted, without injustice, that the patronage which the Colonization Society receives from the inhabitants of slave States, and even from the owners of slaves, is any blot upon its character, or any proof of the erroneousness of its principle. Many of the citizens of these States are to be pitied, rather than blamed, for belonging to the class of slaveholders.—They very sensibly feel the evils of slavery; but are either prevented by law from manumitting their slaves, or are opposed by difficulties which amount to a prohibition. If they liberate their blacks, and send them to a State in which slavery has been abolished, they may be congratulated by their British friends that they have washed their hands of the guilt of slavery; but, comparatively, in few instances can they console themselves with the idea that they have improved the condition of their former slaves; for, on reaching the free State, to which, at a heavy expense, they may have been conveyed, they will find themselves belonging to a class of society generally occupied in the most menial and unproductive offices, and already sufficiently numerous to render even employment of this kind not always attainable. They are, therefore, not merely in a miserable condition themselves, but they contribute to increase the misery of the class to which they belong. This is an evil which we must not wholly attribute to the distinction of colour, and the prejudice which attends it. Something of the same kind may be seen and felt even in this country, when a large emigration from the sister island has glutted the labour market.

The philanthropic citizens of the South, who either feel or witness the difficulties in the way of manumission, may be very reasonably expected to become conspicuous as supporters of a plan calculated not only to cooperate with their own benevolence, but to re-

lieve themselves: they are not, however, the sole supporters, any more than they were the sole inventors of the colonization system. This is shown by the number of auxiliary societies existing in the free States, and by the sums of money which these societies, and individuals in the same States, have contributed to the support of African colonization.—Some of those individuals, whose personal exertions have been among the most important elements of the Society's success, have been citizens of these States.

It has been objected by the enemies of the Colonization Society, that it has been exhibited to the friends of humanity in this country under a false character, very different from that which it possesses in America;—that whilst it is advocated, on this side the Atlantic, as the means of benefiting the blacks, and promoting the ultimate extinction of slavery, no such idea is expressed in its fundamental principle; but that, on the contrary, it advocates an opposite doctrine.

In support of the first assertion, they quote, from the minutes of the formation of the Society, the declaration, that "its single object is the colonization of the free people of colour, *with their consent*, in Africa, or such other place as Congress may deem most expedient." I conceive that the founders of the Society are entitled to praise, rather than censure, for having given so brief, and, at the same time, so comprehensive a definition of their object. It sets forth explicitly abundant work for any Society to undertake, without advancing any thing which can come in collision with the expressed or even secret opinions of any parties or individuals, unless it be of those who believe that the well-being of the blacks will be promoted in proportion to the increase of their numbers within the States—a doctrine which appears to have originated since the formation of the Colonization Society. The fundamental principle of the Colonization Society may be compared with that of the Bible Society, when it avows its object to be the diffusion of the pure text of the Old and New Testaments, without note or comment—an object to which none could be opposed who were not hostile to the Bible. It cannot, however, be supposed that the supporters of the Bible Society merely contemplated the scattering of Bibles and Testaments, from which no other effect was to proceed than the mere occupation of space: they looked forward to their becoming the powerful agents of an enlightening and moralizing influence. But if we interrogate the members of that Society individually, we shall probably find, that, besides the one object in which they all cordially unite, there are other inducements, differing in each, and which could not be brought forward without their again becoming, as they already too often have done, the subjects of schismatic convulsion and violent dispute. If, however, we wish to gain information respecting the results which the Colonization Society is supposed to regard as rendering its avowed object desirable, we cannot look to a better quarter for information than to the publications of the Society itself. In fact, we have our opponents' example in support of this measure; since, although they admit no good which cannot be found distinctly indicated in the brief declaration of its object which I have before quoted, they have been very industrious in selecting causes of complaint founded on detached portions of addresses and speeches, some of which must be admitted as blemishes; while others lose their apparent deformity, when viewed in conjunction with the parts to which they belong. I shall therefore cite some passages which indicate the feelings and objects either of the Colonization Society collectively, or of individuals of acknowledged weight and influence in it.

Their principal motive appears to have been to benefit the coloured population; and more especially that portion of it, which, though not literally loaded with servile chains, is nevertheless suffering from the pains of slavery, and, with but few exceptions, reduced to a miserable and degraded rank in society, and for whose assistance many comparatively unsuccessful efforts had previously been made. At the same time, the founders of the Society were fully sensible that the baneful influence of slavery was by no means limited to these objects of their care, but that it was also generally felt by the great mass of the white population. There was, therefore, a combined motive of benevolence and self-interest: but I think we must do the projectors of the Colonization Society the justice to admit, that benevolence was their primary and principal motive: whilst the latter was rather prospective, and urged in support of their claims on the co-operation of their fellow-citizens in carrying their objects into effect.—p. 5-7.

The views presented in the foregoing extracts, are sustained by a series of citations made from the publications of the Society, and showing that the objects avowed by it, at its origin, have been adhered to at every stage of its progress. By a similar process our author shows the zeal, consistency and efficiency of the Society, in its endeavours to prostrate that curse of humanity—the African slave trade. He then examines an objection to the Society, on which great stress has been laid by its opponents, in both this country and Great Britain:—

It has been represented in this country, that the American Colonization Society aims at nothing less than the banishment of the free people of colour from the United States; although this is disclaimed and disproved, as I shall hereafter make evident. The Socie-

ty is accused of having been accessory to the enactment of those oppressive and unjust laws, by which the codes of some of the States are disfigured. William Lloyd Garrison, after enumerating some of these acts, such as the banishment of the coloured inhabitants of Ohio—the prohibition of instruction, even in Sunday schools, by Louisiana (which makes the second commission of this offence capital)—the banishment of free negroes, by Virginia, under pain of being sold as slaves—the law passed by the same State, that all emancipated slaves who should remain more than twelve months, contrary to the law, should revert to the executors as assets—those of Georgia and North Carolina, imposing a heavy tax or imprisonment on every free person of colour who should come into their ports in the capacity of stewards, cooks, or seamen of any vessel belonging to the non-slave-holding States—those of Tennessee, forbidding free blacks coming into the State to stay more than twenty days; and prohibiting manumission, without immediate removal from the State—those of Maryland, forbidding any free black to settle in that State; and making it unlawful for free blacks to attend any meetings for religious purposes, unless the preacher be white—"all these proscriptive measures," says Lloyd Garrison, "and others less conspicuous, but equally oppressive, which are not only flagrant violations of the Constitution of the United States, but in the highest degree disgraceful and inhuman, are resorted to (to borrow the language of the Secretary, in his Fifteenth Annual Report), for the more complete accomplishment of the great objects of the Colonization Society." I confess I was amazed at this quotation; and anxiously turned to the Report, to discover if it afforded any explanation of such extraordinary language. Neither the words in question, nor any paraphrase of them, is to be found in that Report; but in a short paragraph prefixed to it, I find the words pointed out by Lloyd Garrison, as a quotation, but without having the most distant connection with the obnoxious Acts which Lloyd Garrison enumerates; those Acts not being even mentioned or hinted at. I will not apply any epithet to this mode of employing a quotation; but I must beg the reader to keep this specimen in mind, when he may meet with other quotations which appear to be at variance with the principles and practice of the Society. The Colonization Society, so far from being an accessory, or in any manner concerned with the passing of the oppressive Acts above mentioned, has distinctly reprobated them, in its publications. Its adversaries have not even the semblance of foundation for the charge. The accusation of William Lloyd Garrison offers a striking parallel to that which the Wolf is fabled to have made against the Lamb. The Acts alluded to were, in part, passed before the existence of the Colonization Society; and with regard to others, its position is below them in the stream of events, whilst it endeavours to relieve those who are the victims of their operation. The real cause of the passing of the oppressive Acts in question, and others of a similar character, is, I conceive, to be traced, as a natural and lamentable consequence, to the iniquitous system of slavery itself. The bond and the free will inevitably be struggling against each other with mutual aggressions; and the utmost caution and prudence are required on the part of those who are labouring in the good work of destroying that system, lest, in the mean time, they should so excite the feelings of both parties, as to multiply those aggressions, by which the weaker will, of course, be the greater sufferers.—p. 11-12.

The exposure made in the foregoing passage of Mr. Garrison's misrepresentation of the Colonization Society, is not the only instance of controversial dishonesty which Dr. Hodgkin brings home to that individual.—"The following passage," says Dr. H. "is ascribed to the review on Colonization in the Christian Spectator for September, 1830:—

"For the existence of slavery in the United States, those, and those only, are accountable who bore a part in originating such a constitution of society. The Bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery. There is neither chapter nor verse of Holy Writ, which lends any countenance to the fulminating spirit of universal emancipation, of which some exhibitions may be seen in some of the newspapers." p. 63. But it is replied, in another number of the same Journal: "Now we utterly deny and abjure the authorship of such a paragraph. The fact is, that these three sentences, thus strung together, and with the meaning which they necessarily convey to the reader, whose first sight of them is in this connection, never before appeared in the Christian Spectator. It is true, indeed, that each one of the three sentences, which Mr. Garrison has thus arranged as in a connected train of thought, does actually occur in the article referred to; but they occur in such connections, and are applied, in the course of the argument, to such uses as must very materially modify their meaning in the mind of every candid reader. The word '*existence*' was marked as emphatic; and our object was, as appears from the very next page, while conceding to the advocates of slavery the matter of a favourite plea in its defence, to throw upon the consciences of the present generation of citizens in the slave-holding States the responsibility of reforming this constitution of society, or of *continuing* it, and transmitting it, with all its curses, to posterity. We did indeed say, in another paragraph, 'The Bible contains no explicit prohibition of slavery;' but we need not say that the stress of the sentence obviously rested on the word *explicit*. We added a still greater concession to the advocate of slavery, and one that we marvel that Mr. Garrison has not wrested

to some of his purposes:—"It (the Bible) recognises, both in the Old Testament and the New, the existence of such a constitution of Society; and it lends its authority to enforce the mutual obligations resulting from that constitution." But what else said we of the relations of Christianity to slavery? How far did we permit our concessions to be carried? Did we 'go the whole' in defence of slavery, as, in our author's manner of quotation, we seem to have done? 'The advocates of slavery,' we said, 'take it for granted, that because Christianity recognises such a state of society, and enforces the mutual duties arising therefrom, it sanctions slavery itself: this is a great and palpable error. The New Testament contains no *express* prohibition of polygamy. Is polygamy therefore consistent with Christianity? Christianity is always the antagonist principle of slavery.' Is Mr. Garrison's quotation an impartial exhibition of our doctrine?" Those who denounce the Colonization Society on account of the concessions which it has made to the feelings and prejudices of slaveholders, should recollect that our own most ardent and devoted advocates for the cause of the blacks adopted precisely the same policy. Neither Wilberforce nor Clarkson, complicated their strenuous and ultimately triumphant efforts for the abolition of the slave trade with the question of the abolition of slavery; and even those who have recently been the most powerful advocates of immediate and universal emancipation once admitted the expediency of a more gradual course. I wish they would call to mind their own past experience; and encourage their brethren, the philanthropists of America, in the good which they are already doing, rather than attempt to crush them; because, for the present, they are opposed by difficulties which prevent their effecting more.

—p. 22-23.

Again: The late lamented Mr. CALDWELL, in one of his Colonization speeches, held the following language concerning the coloured population of the United States:—

"The more you improve the condition of the people—the more you cultivate their minds—the more miserable you make them, in their present state: you give them a higher relish for those privileges which they cannot attain, and turn what you intend for a blessing into a curse. No; if they remain in their present situation, keep them in the lowest state of ignorance and degradation. The nearer you bring them to the condition of brutes, the better chance do you give them of possessing their apathy. Surely Americans ought to be the last people on earth to advocate such slavish doctrines; to cry 'peace and contentment' to those who are deprived of the privileges of civil liberty! They who have so largely partaken of its blessings, who know so well how to estimate its value, ought to be among the foremost to extend it to others."

The latter part of this paragraph has been most unfairly suppressed, and the former aduced, by W. L. Garrison, in order to convict that benevolent individual of a "monstrous sentiment," and to prove that "the American Colonization Society advocates, and to a great extent perpetuates, the ignorance and degradation of the coloured population of the United States."—p. 31.

Dr. HODGKIN might, had he been so pleased, have constituted a pamphlet larger than his present work, entirely out of instances of falsification, on the part of Mr. GARRISON and his associates, similar to those which he has exposed. But these are amply sufficient to show that any degree of consideration with which Mr. G. has been or may hereafter be treated by his antagonists, must proceed from respect, not to him, but to themselves. Faithful, however, to his amiable motto, "*cupio me esse clementem*," Dr. HODGKIN contents himself with merely exhibiting Mr. Garrison's fraudulent practices, leaving the reader to give them the reprehension which they deserve at the hand of every honest man. The merits and demerits of a cause are one thing,—the mode of defending it is another. Were the Colonization Society as nefarious an association as Mr. G. avows it to be, it would nevertheless be entitled to justice at his hands. It is his obvious duty, in quoting from its publications, to quote fairly; and by trampling on this obvious duty as he habitually does, he only prompts the public mind to transfer to himself the reprobation which he has attempted to fix on the objects of his calumny. His misrepresentations of the kind alluded to, have had the effect natural to a course at once weak and wicked—that of producing a general distrust of all his statements. An impartial man no more thinks now of resorting to Mr. G.'s writings for information about the Colonization Society, than he would to an almanac to ascertain the changes of the weather.

The extract which we shall now make from Dr. HODGKIN's work, begins with a proposition, exhibiting in a single striking sentence, a whole volume of argument:—

It is worthy of remark, that, with all the concessions which the Colonization Society has made in favour of the present legal prerogatives of slaveholders, the only right of the master, for which they contend, is that of liberty to emancipate his slaves. It is stated in the Fourteenth Report, 1831, p. 25: "The accomplishment of our object *will secure to every proprietor of slaves an opportunity*, if he thinks proper, to exercise the right of disposing of his property as he pleases; a right for which we all strenuously contend, *but which none of us possess.*" R. R. Gurley, in his admirable Essay, published in the Appendix of the same Report, p. 28, observes: "*It is the success of the Society*, it is the fulfilment of the hopes and predictions of its founders, that has awakened the desperate and malignant spirit which now comes forth to arrest its progress. *Voluntary emancipation begins to follow in the train of colonization*; and the advocates of perpetual slavery are indignant at witnessing, in effectual operation, a scheme which permits better men than themselves to exercise, without restraint, the purest and the noblest feelings of our nature. These strenuous assertors of the right to judge for themselves, in regard to their domestic policy, are alarmed at a state of things which secures the *same right* to every individual of their community. Do they apprehend that the system which they would perpetuate cannot continue unimpaired, *unless the privilege of emancipating his slaves, for the purpose of colonization, shall be denied to the master?* Do they feel, that, in this country and this age, the influences of truth and freedom are becoming too active and powerful? and that all their forces must be summoned to the contest with these foes to their purposes and their doctrines? If so, their defeat is inevitable."

Our opponents endeavour to represent the Colonization Society as hostile to the people of colour, whom it has unjustly stigmatized and libelled. I believe that the Colonization Society, in its description of this class, has stated what it conceived to be strictly true.—It was necessary that it should point out their deplorable and almost hopeless condition, when it appealed to benevolence for their relief: it was necessary that it should exhibit the reflected evils which recoil from this class upon those around them, when it wished to arouse the apathetic and selfish. In the Society's description of the general state of the free people of colour—to which, however, it admits with pleasure the existence of some bright exceptions—I see nothing but the natural consequences of the iniquitous system of slavery. In fact, a different state of things would have been a refutation of much that has been ably and excellently advanced by the Abolitionists themselves. The report of the degraded and demoralized condition of the majority of the free people of colour has been confirmed to me by every traveller who has visited America with whom I have had the opportunity of conversing on the subject.—p. 23-24.

Of the authorities adduced by Dr. H. in support of the foregoing remarks, we have room for only one. It is the following, taken from the Christian Examiner for January, 1833:

"Even in those parts which are denominated *free States*, the coloured *free* people are by no means exempt from the effects of the most unjustifiable prejudices; for, whether at home or abroad, in public places of amusement or in the sanctuary of the Lord, they are alike the subjects of scorn and contempt! As an illustration of their degraded condition, even in such cities as Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, it is only necessary to state, that a *white barber would think himself grossly insulted were a coloured person, however respectable in Society, to enter his shop for the purpose of getting shaved!*"

This last quotation deserves particular attention. It is from the pen of Nathaniel Paul, himself a man of colour. From this quotation, as well as from other sources, we may learn the indisputable, but important and lamentable fact, that the degraded and oppressed condition of the free people of colour is by no means confined to the slave-holding States. I would particularly press this fact on the consideration of those who oppose the views of the Colonization Society, whilst they defend the measures of the Anti-Slavery Society.—p. 25-26.

The following additional observations on the condition of the people of colour in the U. States, occur in a subsequent part of the pamphlet:

It is a lamentable fact, which, however contradicted by our opponents, is confirmed by impartial testimony, that exalted piety is no protection against the deep-rooted prejudice which has strongly possessed itself of the minds of the Americans generally; not even excepting those who are conspicuous as the advocates of religion, and who are, perhaps, justly esteemed as adorning the doctrine which they profess. Is it not notorious, that the people of colour either perform their religious devotions in entirely separate companies; or, if they meet in the same buildings with whites, are obliged to keep themselves to a distinct and peculiar situation in them? With the exception of some, who have visited America from Liberia, I have not been able to hear of more than one or two instances of

coloured persons, whatever may have been their virtue and piety, being admitted into the private society of their white brethren, on terms which evinced that even in their individual character they were exempt from the degrading prejudice under which the mass of their coloured countrymen are oppressed. For my own part, whilst I execrate this prejudice, I feel that there is as much cause to pity as to blame many of those whose conduct is influenced by it: and I may add, that I firmly believe that the Colonization Society, though it may appear in the first instance to yield to the prejudice which it cannot immediately destroy, is really preparing the death-blow for it, when it completely removes those who have been its victims from the sphere of its influence, to prepare them to re-appear in the field under new auspices.

If Christianity does not directly liberate the coloured man in America from the degradation which oppresses him, can it be surprising that property and personal accomplishments also fail? An accomplished and distinguished American physician, from an enlightened and liberal State, informed me that he had several coloured families amongst the respectable and profitable class of his patients. He had no feeling of unkindness towards them, or complaint to make against them; yet he told me, that in society they were completely excluded from the rest of the community.—p. 29.

For all purposes of practical benefit to the coloured population of the U. States, it is less important to inquire whether the prejudice there prevailing against them, be, or be not, "execrable," than to determine, its existence and strength being conceded, on the best mode of rescuing them from its effects. Such a mode, we firmly think, has been devised by the Colonization Society, in offering to convey such free coloured persons as wish to be so conveyed, to a region where this "prejudice," whether justly execrable or not, is unknown. And here it seems obvious, that every proof furnished by the Anti-Colonizationists of the extent, and, to use their own word, "rancour" of this prejudice in the U. States, is a fresh argument in favour of removing the objects of it beyond the sphere of its operation. If it be difficult to reason men out of a "prejudice," denunciation and abuse are instruments still less effectual. When the Anti-Slavery party, as they style themselves, shall set the example of intermarrying with the blacks, there will be some reason for believing that their asserted horror at this "prejudice" is sincere; but while no such evidence is furnished, and especially since their late solemn disclaimer, as of an imputed crime, of any matrimonial designs on their coloured brethren and sisters, the conclusion is inevitable that they disbelieve, like their adversaries, in the possibility of a physical amalgamation, and consequently of a social and political equality between the two races. The intelligent writer in the *Christian Mirror*, whose article will be found in another part of this number, has demonstrated that the condition of the free coloured people in this country, even under the most favourable circumstances, is one of degradation; and that it is made so by causes as permanent as their continuance among us. Now, has any scheme, save that of Colonization, for elevating the condition of these unfortunate persons been yet devised, that any candid and informed mind can deem practicable? And when the consequences of the Abolition projects to the Federal Union, and to the safety of its citizens are considered, can the most ingenious charity find a better excuse for their projector, than in bottomless ignorance and unteachable fanaticism?

Among the misrepresentations noticed by Dr. HODGKIN, is the celebrated one of a passage in a speech delivered by the Hon. WILLIAM S. ARCHER, a high-minded and distinguished Virginian, in the year 1832. We subjoin the obnoxious passage with the commentary of our author:—

"If none were drained away, slaves became, except under peculiar circumstances of climate and production, inevitably and speedily redundant; first, to the occasions of profitable employment, and, as a consequence, to the faculty of comfortable provision for them. No matter what the humanity of the owners; fixed restriction on their resources must transfer itself to the comfort, and then to the subsistence, of the slave. At this last stage, the evil in this form had to stop. To this stage (from the disproportioned rate of multiplication of the slaves—double that of the owners, in this country) it was obliged, though at different periods, in different circumstances, to come. When this stage had

been reached, what course or remedy remained? Was open butchery to be resorted to, as, among the Spartans, with the Helots? or general emancipation and incorporation, as in South America? or abandonment of the country by the masters, as must come to be the case in the West Indies? Either of these was a deplorable catastrophe. Could all of them be avoided? and, if they could, how? There was but one way;—but that might be made effectual, fortunately!—it was, to *provide and keep open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment*. This might be done effectually, by extension of the plan of the Society. The drain was already opened.”—16th Report, 1832, p. 26.

The passage, after all, does not contain any thing so very atrocious. The principle which it expresses is by no means essentially connected with slavery, but might be applied to the laborious classes in every state of society, whether bond or free. It is the principle upon which the most disinterested philanthropists advocate the emigration of the redundant pauper population of this country to territories where their prospects may brighten and their energies find scope. The entire speech forms an interesting document amongst the records of the Society; since it makes us acquainted with the sincere and dispassionate sentiments of a body of men whose number and influence make their opinions, whether correct or erroneous, the subject of important consideration, in conjunction with any measure affecting the state of society in which they are placed. With this view, I shall take the liberty of making some few extracts from the speech in question.—p. 27.

Dr. H. thus again adverts to an objection which he had before disposed of.—

If the principal object of the Colonization Society, as its opponents insinuate, were an interested and selfish desire, on the part of the slave-owners, to drain off a redundant black population that they might increase the value and more easily hold in subjection those that remain, we should expect to find a mutual combination amongst them to effect this purpose by some general sacrifice, rather than a few individuals generously devoting their entire property in slaves for the sake of those who are really their rivals. The number of slave-owners who, notwithstanding the high price which they might obtain for their slaves, have come forward in this manner and manumitted them, or published their determination to do so as soon as the Society's means will allow them to effect their colonization, proves both that the desire to emancipate is by no means wanting amongst the calumniated citizens of the South, and that the difficulties in the way of manumission, which their adversaries seem unwilling to admit, had really been to them insuperable.

In some instances, the plea of selfishness has been more completely refuted, and the benevolent anxiety on the part of the masters to benefit their slaves exhibited by the pains which they have taken to prepare them for emigration, and even by their wholly or partially paying their expenses to the colony. A striking instance of this has been given by the benevolent Margaret Mercer; who has not only given up her patrimony in slaves, prepared them for colonization, and sent them to Liberia, but devotes her life to the arduous profession of schoolmistress, and her mansion to the purpose of a school, in order to increase her means of benefitting the Afro-American people of colour. Elizabeth Greenfield, Col. Early, and the Breckenridges, also deserve honourable mention, for similar conduct.

Dr. Aylett Hawes, of Virginia, has bequeathed freedom to about 100 slaves, and \$20 for each, to assist the Colonization Society in conveying them to Liberia.—p. 30.

The first of the subjoined paragraphs is founded in deep and true philosophy; and, coming as it does from a foreigner, is an impressive rebuke to those domestic agitators who are sporting with the Institutions and the peace of their Country:—

I cannot quit this subject without offering a remark which seems to be connected with it. In fully admitting that “knowledge is power,” and that it is one of the great evils and fruits of the injustice of absolute authorities to withhold it from their subjects, it is necessary that those who are desirous to correct this state of things, and promote the diffusion of knowledge, should be circumspect and cautious as to their mode of introducing it; otherwise there is a danger of exhibiting to them all the evils of their position before they have the power to extricate themselves; lest, startled and agitated by the discovery, they make struggles injurious to themselves and those around them: as when the blinkers are taken from a horse in harness, the sudden discovery of the apparatus attached to him makes him take fright, and hurry vehicle, passengers, and himself to destruction. Into this error, the Abolitionists of America, and more especially the Editor of the “*Liberator*,” have, I believe, in some degree, fallen, and thereby contributed to promote the passing of oppressive laws.

It is not the end, but the means, of which I am doubtful. The energetic language of the *Liberator* has not, that I am aware, induced a single slaveholder to remove or relax his shackles: it has excited displeasure; and, instead of obtaining an attentive perusal, has raised against its author an opposition which has induced me to feel for him as a persecuted

ed individual. The fault, however, is, in part, his own. He fails in persuading the master, and is suspected of agitating the blacks, who form, as he has told us, at least two-thirds of his subscribers.

Great importance appears to be attached to the protests and remonstrances published by several congregations of free blacks in America, in opposition to the Colonization Society: but it should be remembered, that these individuals are at perfect liberty to remain where they are; that so far from having any personal acquaintance with the settlement of Liberia, to give value to their opinion, they merely re-echo the sentiments of the Editor of the *Liberator*, of whose journal they are the chief support: and, above all, it must be borne in mind, that their sentiments are directly opposed to those of the people of colour who have visited the colony, or taken pains to make themselves authentically acquainted with it. "Some of the authors of this objection, have first *persuaded* them *not to emigrate*, and then pronounced that they *will* not. Their prediction and their argument have both failed."—3d Report, 1820, p. 23.

The very favourable report of Simpson and Moore, deliberately offered to their brethren, on their return from Liberia, is so complete and important a negative to the assertions of W. Lloyd Garrison, that he has endeavoured to set it aside, as not being genuine—and, with this view, asserted the accredited authors to be ignorant individuals, unable to read and write, and consequently incompetent to have produced the report in question. This statement was made to several of my friends, by W. Lloyd Garrison himself, during his short stay in this country. By a very remarkable contingency, Anson G. Phelps, the highly respectable citizen of New York who received Simpson and Moore immediately on their landing from Liberia, happens to have been in this country since this assertion was made; and being accidentally in company with one of the gentlemen to whom it was addressed, that gentleman, who also by accident became acquainted with the fact of his having so received Simpson and Moore, took the opportunity of making inquiries respecting them; and received in return, not only the assurance that they were, as the circumstance of their selection by their brethren seemed to imply, persons of good understanding and competent education, but that he had seen the journal they had kept, from the time of their leaving Natchez up to the period of their arrival at New York.—p. 32–33.

We are happy to observe that JAMES BROWN'S exposition of the misrepresentations circulated by the Anti-Colonizationists of the statements of Price and Whittington, has attracted the attention of Dr. Hodgkin. He thus refutes another charge against the Society :

The enemies of the Colonization Society have endeavoured to represent its friends as guilty of subterfuge and inconsistency, in professing a design to civilize and Christianize Africa, by means of a class whose degraded and demoralized condition it has prominently exhibited. This is a charge which appears to be substantiated by the contrasted extracts which they have given; but it is by no means the conclusion to be obtained from a fair and connected perusal of the Society's publications.

From this it is evident, that they have, in general, taken great pains in the selection of their colonists; as a proof of which, they have had no occasion for whites in any official capacity, except that of Governor and Physician. Although they consider the degraded condition of the coloured population as the result of their unfortunate position in society, rather than an inherent characteristic of their race; and that consequently, under favourable circumstances, they may both improve themselves, and be the means of improving others; especial attention has been paid to avoid sending out such a proportion of an inferior class as to compromise the well-being and character of the colony. But it has been said, we have Governor Meehlin's own letter, in proof of the bad character of the emigrants whom you style Missionaries. It appears to me, that the legitimate inference to be drawn from that letter is, that the complaint made against a particular cargo of emigrants implies the general good character of those who preceded them; and the publication of that letter by the Society is both an evidence of its candour and frankness, and a proof of its desire to avoid the occasion of such an objection in future: it must be the means of obtaining increased attention to the selection and preparation of future emigrants, by which the Society cannot fail to benefit the blacks who stay, as well as those who go.—Already some of the legal impediments to the education of negroes have been revoked, in favour of such as are destined for the coast of Africa; but it is obvious, that, of the many so educated, not a few may miss emigration, and remain in America. Again, those who are receiving instruction, as a qualification for colonization, will, in the mean time, be likely to improve those who may not be so fortunate, but with whom they may happen to have intercourse: nor need the jealousy of the enemies to negro education be excited by this indirect effect, since the knowledge so communicated, will be accompanied by a kindly rather than by a hostile feeling towards the whites.

I am surprised that the opponents of the Colonization Society should have taken offence at the designation of Africa as the native country of the negro, and affected to misunderstand its meaning. It is evident, that it merely implies that Africa is the cradle of the black race, and strictly of that particular black race which has been the victim of slavery

in the Western World; for the Colonizationists know, as well as their opponents, that there are black races in Australia and elsewhere: but when they contemplate removing the sons of Africa from a land to which, without their consent, they or their ancestors were conveyed, and in which they have had many privations, hardships, and indignities to endure, it is not surprising that Africa should present itself to their view as the most promising, and be spoken of as the mother or native country of the blacks.—p. 33-34

Though our extracts from this pamphlet have been copious, we must, in justice to Mr. CRESSON, insert Dr. HODGKIN's valuable testimony to the character of that gentleman :

Such is my conviction of the merits of the Colonization Society, founded on a careful examination of its objects and principles, of the measures which it employs, and of the results which have given proof of its power. An attentive perusal of its valuable Reports, as well as the testimony of impartial witnesses, cannot fail, I conceive, to produce the same sentiment in the minds of others; yet I do not hesitate to assert that I am open to conviction from the opposite side, if it can be shown that, in spite of all the evidence brought before me, I have been deceived. But were it possible for such an occurrence to take place, and detach my good wishes from the Colonization Society, I should, notwithstanding, be constrained to defend a calumniated individual, whose sincere and disinterested devotion to the cause of the Society has subjected him to obloquy and persecution. But, in the full persuasion which I have avowed of the merits of the Colonization Society, and of the justice of its cause, I should feel that, had my attempt been more successful than I can flatter myself it has been, it would still be imperfectly performed were I to leave unnoticed the injury which the Colonization Society has received from this country, in the person of its representative. Private friendship, as well as public justice, urge me to this part of the work which I have undertaken; and in espousing the cause of Elliott Cresson, I feel a pleasure in holding up the generous and disinterested conduct, the indefatigable energy, and persevering zeal of that philanthropist, notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements with which he has been almost constantly met. Elliott Cresson, who had visited this country many years before he came to it as the advocate of the Colonization Society, has been long known, respected, and esteemed by myself personally. For many years he has been the friend of the coloured race in America. He early became interested in the success of the Colonization Society. When the very limited funds of the infant Institution arrested its proceedings, through inability to meet the difficulties which opposed it, inasmuch that the continued existence of the Society appeared doubtful, Elliott Cresson came forward, and devoted all his energies to the cause. He made himself personally responsible for the equipment of a vessel charged with emigrants and effects for the reinforcement of the colony, then struggling for its doubtful existence: he revived the zeal of its friends; and a second and third vessel were already advanced in preparation, whilst their predecessors were hardly under weigh. The prospects of the Society rapidly brightened: the exertions of Auxiliary Societies increased its funds; from every part of the Union, donations and legacies came in; the influential members of almost every Christian community gave it the sanction of their approbation; and members of Congress publicly defended it. Elliott Cresson, instead of sitting down the delighted but inactive spectator of this prosperity, resolved to come over to this country; where he had previously endeavoured to obtain, by correspondence, friends and supporters for the Colonization Society. He came as the official organ of that Society, but took upon himself the charges of this long and unavoidably expensive mission: Instead of finding his cause generally and warmly espoused in a country which has rendered itself conspicuous by its efforts as well as its professions in favour of Africa and Africans, whom it had once been foremost to oppress, his labours were impeded, or actively opposed, by many of those very individuals who made themselves prominent as the advocates of the African cause in England, and who were consequently looked up to as guides, in conduct and opinion, in reference to this subject. He has, however, received the sanction and encouragement of some of those whose opinions are every way entitled to the greatest deference and respect. It is enough to say, that Wilberforce honoured and supported him by his friendship, and continued to avow his approbation of the Colonization Society, notwithstanding the attacks and insinuations of its adversaries, until near the period of his lamented death, when the *ex-parte* statements of those who knew the importance of his authority obtained a triumph, the achievement of which confers no honour. Elliott Cresson still retains the friendship, as his cause does the good wishes, of the venerable Clarkson, than whom no one is more competent to judge of any measures in which Africa is concerned, or more acutely sensible to every thing which can prejudice her or her injured sons. Let it not be supposed that he has abandoned the cause of Liberia, in the foundation of which he took an active part, because, at the close of an active and well-spent life, encumbered with the various infirmities of age, he does not come forward to join in discussions which could not be otherwise than painful to him, inasmuch as they would bring him into apparent collision with some of his oldest friends. Let it be enough for the foes as well as the friends of Elliott Cresson and Liberia to know, that the blessings of the venerable Clarkson rest upon both.

In the preceding pages of this defence, I have not only pointed out and endeavoured to reply to some of the objections urged against the Colonization Society, but have exhibited some of the unfair means by which this attack has been conducted. It might have been thought enough for the weight of these, and the harsh and opprobrious language by which they have been too often accompanied, to rest upon the foreigner who has visited our hospitable country. This, however, has not been the case. Unfounded personal attacks have been promulgated to annoy and defeat him. He has been accused of representing to the English, that the objects of the Colonization Society were different from those which it avows in America; yet his assertions have ever been supported by the public statements of that Society, and by the facts which he adduced. Some of the charges are so contradictory, that they convey their own refutation. Individuals have insinuated, that, instead of the great sacrifice of time and fortune which he is making, he is really a mercenary agent. I need scarcely say, that Elliott Cresson's resources and connections are too well known for this insinuation to give him any uneasiness: I merely mention it as a proof of the disposition with which he has had to contend. He has been spoken of as raising money under false pretences; and a speaker at a Meeting called for the purpose of opposing Elliott Cresson and the Colonization Society, declared that they would put a stop to Elliott Cresson's going about robbing the British public. But, I would ask, with the utmost confidence, whether any one who has contributed to the comparatively small sum which has been raised in this country for the Colonization Society, and refers to the acknowledgment of it, not only by Elliott Cresson, but by the Colonization Society itself, and reflects on the amount of good which the Managers of that Society, by their rigid economy, have been able to effect, will venture to assert, either that his contribution has been obtained from him under a false pretence, or that he would wish to recall the gift?—In a document proceeding from the Anti-Slavery's address in Aldermanbury, and which, though not sanctioned by the Society's name, has been circulated at its expense, Elliott Cresson is styled an impostor by William Lloyd Garrison, who, during his stay in this country, was ostensibly connected with the Anti-Slavery Society. To that Society Elliott Cresson was officially introduced, on his arrival in this country, as the Agent of the Colonization Society. Yet the publication of the letter containing that introduction, has in vain been called for, in answer to the libel; and application for it, for the same purpose, has been equally unsuccessful.

I must be allowed to correct another misrepresentation, which has been much insisted on and extensively disseminated by the same party. When William Lloyd Garrison arrived in this country, it was a proposal of himself and his friends, that the charges which he brought against the Colonization Society should be made the subject of a public discussion between himself and Elliott Cresson. To this, the latter was perfectly willing to accede; and it was only set aside at the recommendation of some individuals to whom the subject was referred. It was feared, that such an occasion was more likely to give rise to painful feelings, than to elicit truth. My friend, Joseph Tregelles Price, no supporter of the American Colonization Society, but an active friend of the Anti-Slavery Society, (though I am far from supposing him to be implicated in all its measures), united with myself in the negotiation of this affair, and corresponded with William Lloyd Garrison, who was distinctly informed of our reasons for setting aside the public discussion, and solicited to accede to a more private conference on the disputed points. To this proposal, William Lloyd Garrison and his friends returned an unexplained refusal.

I will not longer extend a repetition of the unmerited grievances which Elliott Cresson has had to endure. He feels, at times, that these evils are more than compensated by the satisfaction which he derives from the good work in which he is engaged. I am fully persuaded, that one day its success will bring conviction, if not regret, to his opponents; and that his name and his exertions will be permanently recorded in the grateful recollection of the Colonized American Blacks, for whom it may justly be said,

— sine fraude —  
Liberum munivit iter daturus  
plura relictis."

In our next, will appear Dr. HODGKIN'S remarks on the "*British African Colonization Society*."

## SOCIETY'S CORRESPONDENCE.

*Letter from a Clergyman in Kingston, E. Tennessee, June 20, 1834.*

Enclosed I send you the sum of sixteen dollars for the use of the American Colonization Society. This sum was taken up by a collection, by my suggestion, as requested. I was directed by the Rev. Mr. Gurley, your Secretary, to forward it to you. The amount is small, and the congregation to which I preach is small; but among other benevolent Institutions, I do not wish them to forget, either in their prayers or contributions, the noble one with which you are connected.

A reverend gentleman of Centreville, Pennsylvania, in enclosing a small collection taken up on the 4th of July last, says—"The contributors discover no diminution of their love and zeal for the great and good cause of the Colonization Society. Amidst many calls for their mites, individual dividends appear small."

*Letter from a Gentleman, dated Clark's Run, near Xenia, Green county, O., to the Board.*

IN MY ESTEEM, TRULY HONOURED BOARD.

After thinking about you and the Colony one hundred times, I now send you my thoughts. And, first, on the farming in Liberia: and I conceive the very existence of the Colony depends on another mode of farming, than hath hitherto been attended to; the want of *beast labour* hath, and forever will (in my opinion) be the ruin of the Colony.

Introduce the labour of the patient ox, and the noble horse, and then we will have plenty of black men to farm; and to farm without the horse and ox, is only for slaves with the cow-hide behind them and not for free men. Let the Board at Washington send a man qualified to superintend the farming, and zealous for the welfare of the Colony, with a small salary, and to do no other business; let this man have a large farm to superintend, to show the colonists what a farmer can do; but he must be furnished with horses, ploughs, wagons and ox-carts. Secondly;—How can buildings be raised without cattle to bring the materials? Gov. Pinney's account of the new settlers in the Colony, shows the deplorable situation of the Colony for want of *beast labour*. Likewise there is a vast superiority in the standing the drought, of grain, of any kind, put in by the plough, over that put in by the hoe. Let me know whether horses could be with propriety imported into Liberia from this country? To a man that hath been starved all his days, and perhaps never had his belly filled, the prospect of having plenty to eat, is alone even *liberty* itself to the man. If an overstock of provisions was raised in Liberia, there would be plenty of emigrants to go there.

Had Liberia been furnished with but one farm and four horses at the commencement, improvements might perhaps by this time have reached the centre of Africa, and their warlike implements and swords might have now been converted into plough-shares and pruning-hooks. Before this time a good team of horses and a wagon in Liberia would be for conversation, like the Landers ascending the Niger with their steam-boats. Think what Washington City itself would be without the gallant horse!—I have two sons that farm: with their leave, I will send you the best horse for work in my team, if you think proper to adopt my plan of farming in the Colony.

The next observation I shall make is, that you give the slaveholders a hint in the African Repository, that those of them that intend sending

their slaves to Liberia, either keep them six months longer and pay them, or hire them out for money, and then every man able to work, could pay his own passage to Liberia: and I have no idea of sending men to the Colony that will not work if they are able. There is many a tender-hearted man owning slaves that will never set his slaves free to earn or raise their bread with the hoe; a new, and in many cases, a worse species of slavery than they are now under. Liberia is of little use to men if they want the means of independence. In Africa there are plenty of asses, why are they not introduced into the Colony? They are beasts of burden, and where no horses are; they are a good substitute to ride. It gives one pain to think of *Ashmun* and all those noble men that have fallen a sacrifice for the Colony. Their labour was doubled for want of a horse to ride. A Governor without a horse to ride! the very idea is disgracing, and still more so among black men that have lived among large slaveholders.

Perhaps the Colonization scheme is the best human system that ever was contrived on earth. By your leave and aid (if I was younger, but am now too old) I would go to the Colony to give it a new existence in introducing beast labour; and the farming if rightly followed, would yield a plentiful reward.

I am something of an enthusiast in the Colonization cause, and would beg you to give an Old Scotchman's plan a candid investigation, and excuse his plain, rude manner. The Liberia cider mill has gained \$4 for the cause this season, which I will pay to our Treasurer. I truly respect and love you all, and hope and pray that God may give you wisdom in all your deliberations.

*Extract of a Letter dated Pittsburg, August 4, 1834.*

Enclosed you have a draft for twenty-one dollars and four cents, the amount of a collection taken up on the Sabbath succeeding the 4th ultimo, in the *Third Presbyterian Church* in this city, of which I am Pastor, in aid of the American Colonization Society. This is the first year of its organization; and very heavy responsibilities in the rearing of a very spacious edifice, have prevented the sum from being larger at this time.

*Letter dated Congruity, (Pa.) July 14, 1834.*

The enclosed ten dollars was collected on the 6th inst. in the Presbyterian congregation of Congruity, Westmoreland county, Pa. for your Society. The sum collected was eleven dollars and fifty-five cents. The balance I shall pay over to the New Alexandria Auxiliary Society. But as the Treasurer of that Auxiliary will have no other funds to transmit for six weeks or two months, and as the wants of the Parent Society are pressing, I thought it best to forward immediately as much as could be sent by mail. The collection would have been larger, but that many of my people are members of the aforesaid Auxiliary and expect soon to be called upon for their annual subscription.

May the smiles of a benignant Providence rest upon the Society and make it a blessing alike to America and Africa.

*Extract of a Letter dated Columbus, Mississippi, July 23, 1834.*

Enclosed you will please find seventy dollars in U. S. paper, which is for the use of the American Colonization Society.

I have been in the habit for some years of making (individually) a small remittance; but this year I have used my influence with some of my neigh-

bours and friends, and have got the above amount, and think I will yet get a little more—say one hundred dollars. I then design proposing to them the forming a little Society, and subscribing on the plan of Gerrit Smith.

*Letter from a Reverend Gentleman, dated Fishkill, Dutchess county, N. Y. July 21, 1834.*

Enclosed you will receive seventeen dollars, the amount of a collection taken in the Reformed Dutch Church of Hopewell, in aid of the Colonization Society. I am happy to discover that the efforts of the Abolitionists are producing a reaction in favour of your Institution. The people of this district of country, recoil with indignation from the unnatural designs of those who advocate the promiscuous intercourse of colours; and the effects in the city clearly evince, that the influence of the abolition measures is cruelty to the poor blacks, instead of benevolence. I regard the Colonization Society as offering all the inducements to emancipation, which the warmest friend of liberty could offer; but beside this offering, a home to the liberated captive where he may rise to all the dignity and enjoyment of civilization and Christianity. The Lord grant the American Colonization Society His richest blessing.

*Letter dated Lewistown, Mifflin county, Pa. July 29, 1834.*

After divine service held in the Methodist Episcopal Church, on the 4th inst. I presented to the congregation the very powerful claims of the American Colonization Society; and although the sentiments of the abolition party have some influence here, we nevertheless received pleasing assurances of the fact, that the American Colonization Society is founded upon principles of extended benevolence, and entitled to the liberal regards and sympathies of American Patriots and Christians.

The collection amounted to fifteen dollars and twenty-five cents.—(\$15 25.) I send herewith enclosed the sum of fifteen dollars, in aid of the funds of the Society, and apply the remaining twenty-five cents in part payment for the postage of this communication.

*Letter dated Alexandria, Huntingdon county, Pa. August 4th, 1834.*

I send you the enclosed \$10, the amount of a collection taken a few weeks since, in my church, for the aid of the cause of Colonization.—That cause should be dear to the heart of every friend of injured Africa and of her race. I hope the Lord will grant it His propitious smiles, and cause it to triumph over the assaults of its misguided and fanatic opposers, the Abolitionists. I trust they mean well, but they are certainly, in my humble opinion, greatly mistaken as to the propriety of their measures. They are urging our country to a fearful crisis. May a gracious Heaven preserve us all from the dreadful shock which must ensue if these wild and enthusiastic measures are carried much further.

*Letter dated Baton Rouge, 7th of August, 1834.*

The Presbyterian Church in this place is small. Only three male members. Mr. Hutchison, who formerly preached for us, left the place some eight or ten months ago; since which time, we have had no preacher of our church. Mr. Chesnut, a Congregationalist, has occasionally visited us.—In consequence of the increased anxiety of the congregation for the success and prosperity of the Colonization Society, and in compliance with a resolution of the General Assembly, we, for the first time, have taken a collection for that purpose,

We have collected twenty dollars, which please receive and appropriate according to the wishes of the donors.

*Letter dated Cross Roads, Washington county, Pa. Aug. 15, 1834*

Enclosed you have \$35 collected from the Roads Presbyterian congregation, for the Colonization Society; this amount, though small, has exceeded our former contributions—which, I believe, has been the result of unjustifiable opposition made by a few Abolitionists to the Colonization Society here.

*Extract of a Letter dated Fairfield, N. J. 18th August, 1834.*

The enclosed \$12, was taken up in the congregation (of which I am Pastor) on the Sabbath succeeding the 4th of July, to aid the Colonization Society in their benevolent operations. We are pleased with the prudent and Christian principles on which the proceedings of your Society are conducted; and which, so far as I know, are almost unanimously approved of by the people in these parts. No Abolitionists here.

We are sorry to hear of some things unfavorable to the prosperity of the Colony; but glad to learn that you are likely to surmount the obstacles which seemed to retard the progress of the Colony. And I pray that God would more abundantly prosper the benevolent operations of your Society, and make them a blessing to our Republic, to the Colony, and to the unknown millions of human beings in Africa.

*Extract of a Letter dated Pitts Grove, Salem county, N. J. August 19, 1834.*

Enclosed is a ten dollar bill, the avails of a collection taken in our church on the 10th inst. I regret that circumstances arose that day to diminish our numbers, and consequently our contribution. But in a few weeks I hope to forward the first fruits of an effort to form a Female Auxiliary Society here, which as yet, is not quite organized.

Your ably conducted Repository, brings constant and accumulating testimony of the paramount importance of this glorious effort.

“Secto corpore fortior,”

may be now the honourable motto of the American Colonization Society. It has, during the past year, proved itself worthy of the times. It has foiled “Jannes and Jambres” in many a well contested debate; has patiently endured the contradictions of those fanatics; has enlisted new affections, new hearts, and new talents on its side; and has by the peculiar trials which have met its bright career, only developed more and more fully, the fact, that our country cannot do without it. \* \* \* The two races cannot live together. The malaria of Africa on the one hand, and the organization of American Society on the other, will forever forbid it.

With the warmest desires and prayers for the continued and much enlarged success of the Society, I remain, &c.

*Extract of a Letter dated New Orleans, 23rd August, 1834.*

Enclosed is a bill on Henry Henderson, of Baltimore, at sight, for one hundred and two dollars and fifty cents, being amount of my subscription on G. Smith's Plan, and one year's subscription to the Repository. \* \*

I would have remitted this sooner, but for having been absent. My Agent had instructions, but neglected them. I subscribe myself a firmer friend than ever to the good cause,

## IMMEDIATE ABOLITION.

The subjoined article, from the *Christian Mirror*, of August 7, published at Portland, is evidently the production of a sensible writer, well informed as to the facts which he cites, and justly estimating the relation of the free blacks in the United States to the white population. It deserves and will doubtless receive a careful and general perusal.

## THE AGITATING QUESTION.

*Dear Sir:—*The question of emancipation is generally treated by the "Abolitionists," as one, in which the master and slave are alone interested. The rights of society, of the community at large, are seldom if ever, taken into consideration; and yet these are by no means unimportant points, in the discussion of the subject. A large number of the United States hold no slaves; and within the slaveholding States, more especially Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, a large and respectable portion of our citizens are personally exempt from the crime and its profits. That these have a right to be protected from the evil and fatal consequences of immediate emancipation, *they at least*, have no doubt, and this right they ground upon the fundamental law of society, which gives the community a right to protect itself against a portion of its own citizens, by restricting and controlling their rights, when incompatible with the interests of the whole. The white apprentice, though free borne, and entitled to the unqualified use of his own limbs, and the aggregate profits of his own labor, in an abstract point of view, and this as fully, and completely during any one year or period of his life as during any other, is nevertheless by the laws of society, (which by the way he has no voice in making,) condemned to a qualified servitude for seven years of his life; and so general and unquestionable are the beneficial results of such servitude, that its propriety, and the right of society to impose it, are never questioned.—Other instances in the laws of all civilized societies in relation to paupers, servants and women, corroborate and sustain the general principle. This right of society is also its duty, and should be exercised, not only in reference to the present generation, but to posterity.

The abolitionists contend that slavery is a crime and that immediate, unconditional emancipation is the only remedy; that it is the *duty* of the masters, and perfectly *safe* to all concerned. Slaveholders generally admit the evil, but contend that arson, robbery, assassinations, Southampton tragedies and anarchy, (which they say would be the results of immediate emancipation) are greater crimes, and that it is not their *duty*, to do that which will terminate in the extermination by violence, of either the blacks or whites.

To this the abolitionists reply, "You are interested in this question in a pecuniary point of view!—your testimony as witnesses, and your decision as judges cannot therefore be received; your fears are the result of your cupidity and their sincerity may well be questioned." The slaveholder answers "We have correct means of judging upon the subject, you have not. We know intimately, and not by report, the character, feelings, and dispositions of our slaves, you do not. In the experiment of emancipation would be involved, not only our property in slaves, but all our property, and the lives and welfare of ourselves, our wives and our children; while your only stake is a mere matter of opinion."

Let us turn from the opinions of these 'interested' and 'ignorant' judges, to that of others standing indifferent, between the parties, and relieved, if not of all interest, at least of that—pecuniary interest—which the law lays down as the ground of incompetency.

The citizens of the State of Ohio, are by birth, education and habits, opposed to slavery; so much so that slaveholders seldom think it worth their while, to attempt reclaiming runaways in that state. Every legal obstacle is thrown in the way of such attempts, and when such means fail, slaves are often rescued from their reclaiming masters by force, and secreted from subsequent arrest. Now notwithstanding this general sentiment in favor of freedom, and the small number of free blacks in the State, she has been obliged to pass severe laws against the influx of blacks by laying them under regulations not generally in their power to comply with. The burden and danger of such a population overcome their feelings of humanity towards them. Again; it is known to most of those who have any acquaintance with the proceedings of the Colonization Society, that many conscientious slaveholders in the Southern States, have liberated their slaves and even furnished them with an outfit, on condition of their emigration to Liberia. This testimony, exhibited at the expense and loss of hundreds, and in some cases thousands of dollars, presents strong claims to disinterestedness. These same individuals would, however, under their views of the danger of emancipation upon the soil, have felt it their duty to retain them still in slavery, if no means nor place were provided for their emigration from the State.

The citizens of the free States bordering immediately upon the slaveholding States, and also those citizens of the slaveholding States, who own and hold no slaves, however conscientiously and strenuously they may be opposed to the system or the sin, are almost unanimously opposed to emancipation, either immediate or upon the soil. So far as

mere opinions go, these are certainly entitled to much weight, but facts are preferable to opinions.

The objections to immediate, unconditional emancipation are that it is dangerous to society, and unproductive of benefit to the slaves themselves. By this it is not meant that many individual cases of hardship and oppression would not be relieved, but that even if the mightier evils of insurrection and crime are avoided, neither the physical, moral, nor religious character of the blacks would be improved, while intolerable evils would be the consequence to the whites.

In support of this view of the subject, I beg leave to adduce a few facts in reference to a county and Borough, in the western part of Pennsylvania. This State by an act of the Legislature of 1780, provided for the gradual emancipation of its slaves. There are but 2 or 3 hundred in the State, and those of very advanced ages. The free blacks in the State, number about 38,000. In the county of which I speak, the white population is 42,784, the black 852—ratio 1-50. In the Borough, whites 1816, blacks 154—ratio about 1-12.—Probably 1-2 of the whole were free born—and the remainder, free at 28 years of age.—Of course, the evils attendant upon the sudden acquisition of freedom by a numerous, ignorant and depraved population, were with us, happily avoided. Few in number, gradually prepared for freedom, partially instructed in reading and writing and in the possession of freedom commensurate in every respect with the whites, a case is presented favorable to their advancement in all that makes life valuable. You will ask me, "Are they industrious?" I answer, Wealth appears to have no charms for any of them. They are idle and poor. An entire want of energy of mind and body, is and ever has been the first consequence of their freedom. Although able to obtain equal wages with the laboring whites, none of them acquire property. They live in cabins, little one story log huts, chinked with mud, in the suburbs of the town. These generally contain but one room, and often have mud floors. The interior presents a picture of poverty, and too often squalidity. I believe there is but one of these houses, owned by the black tenant, or a colored person. The whole amount of Borough tax collected in 1833, was \$1965.46.—The whole amount paid by the colored population, was \$4.84. The proportion received by them as paupers, has generally been from one half to two thirds of the whole amount of funds expended for the support and relief of the poor, although constituting as before observed, but 1-12th of the population. They live from hand to mouth—proverbially making no provision for the future. Although a cow is protected from execution for debt, it is rare indeed, that one is owned by a black man.

Their improvement in education is about upon a par with their pecuniary advancement and domestic economy. But a few of them can write, and I have never known one read so well as to take pleasure in reading. Books form no part of their cabin furniture or sources of enjoyment. The most of them, perhaps it might be said of all, who acquire any education, receive it at the public expense. Repeated efforts of philanthropic citizens to procure their general and regular attendance at Sabbath schools, and also to organise them into a separate school to be governed and instructed by teachers and managers from among themselves, have produced nothing but mortifying failures.

The most of them, old and young, depend for their dress upon the cast clothing of the whites, and of course have in the shabbiness of their cloths, a ready excuse for non-attendance at school and at meeting, when from idleness or any other cause they choose to absent themselves. Morals and religion seem to be at as low an ebb amongst them, as can well be conceived of in a Christian country. The moral tone of their preachers may be judged of from the fact, that a distinguished one among them in this place, openly and unblushingly advocated their right to *steal from the whites*. I have no statistics of crime before me, but I have no hesitation in saying, where they form 1-50th of the population, they furnish 1-8th of the criminals in our jails.

Free, but realizing none of the nobler advantages of freedom—possessing the right of elective franchise, but never claiming to exercise it—ignorant and degraded, among schools and in the midst of education and refinement—attaining no higher eminence even in the mechanic arts, than the lowest and meanest handicrafts, which not one in fifty attains to—as a class, poor in the extreme and oftentimes actual sufferers from penury in a land of ease, wealth, and plenty—adding nothing to the stock of national wealth or national defence, but a drawback upon both—they form any thing but a valuable class of the community, and however much we may pity their situation, the hope of improving it *here*, is feeble indeed.

Is it to be expected that under these circumstances, and with these facts staring us in the face, we can desire the unconditional emancipation of the Slaves of the United States; exposing ourselves to an influx of such a population ten and perhaps forty times as numerous as the present? and this too while we know that the evils accompanying a degraded population increase in a geometrical and not arithmetical proportion to their numbers. It should be recollected too, that the burden and loss to the wealth of the community from such a class, bear no comparison as evils, with the injuries resulting to the moral tone and character imparted by them to the lower classes of the whites. Of the cause of this degradation and the means of removing it, I may perhaps speak hereafter; the present remarks are advanced only as arguments against immediate, unconditional emancipation.

G. O. W.

[From the Vermont Chronicle, June 6.]

**THE OBJECT. AND ITS BEARINGS.**

In examining the claims of the Colonization Society the two ought to be considered separately; for the Society, as such, has one single and simple *object*, while its members have different views of the *bearings* of the enterprise, and those bearings depend indeed entirely on the manner in which the enterprise is carried on. The object is to colonize, from the United States, in Africa or elsewhere, free people of color who are willing to go. Now a commercial colony would be one thing and an agricultural another—a Christian colony would be a blessing, a slave-trading one, a curse to Africa and the world. The establishment of a parcel of ignorant, idle and vicious free blacks on the coast of Africa, is to be deprecated, while nothing could be more cheering to the eye of a Christian philanthropist, than a community of the virtuous and intelligent from that class of our citizens, established there, happy in themselves and a light amid the darkness of their father land.

What then may we reasonably expect to be the *bearings* of this enterprise?

Mr. Stuart says of Liberia, that "for Africa it is good. It interrupts the slave trade within its own limits; and the least interruption to that nefarious traffic is an unspeakable good." Even the enemies of the Society, then, are compelled to acknowledge that its affairs have been so conducted as to establish on the coast of Africa a colony that interrupts the slave trade. So far it is well. The bearings of the enterprise are good. And when the reader considers that this is already true of a long extent of coast in Liberia—that it is rapidly stretching along in both directions—that the new colony at Cape Palmas will be equally effective in the cause of humanity—and that the slave trade may be interrupted along the whole coast by a mere extension of the same plan; when he remembers, too, the horrors of that trade, and thinks of the amount of good involved in its suppression,—he will acknowledge that this single item is enough to overbalance a vast amount of incidental evil—should such be found connected with it—and to repay abundantly any probable labors and sacrifices that may be required to effect it.

Again, Mr. Stuart acknowledges that Liberia, like Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope, "forms a new centre, whence civilization and Christianity are radiating through the adjoining darkness. In this respect," he says "no praise can equal the worth of these settlements." Here, also, the character of the colony is so evident, that even an enemy is compelled to acknowledge its value as a means of extending through Africa the blessings of civilization and Christianity. What are these blessings? Such as to be counterbalanced by trifling evils? Such that to bestow them on Africa is an object worthy of but *little* effort and but *trifling* sacrifices? Let these questions be meditated upon in the spirit of Christ.

What must be the plan and actual character of a colony, the influence of which is such as Mr. Stuart describes. What in fact is the plan and character of the colonies at Liberia and Cape Palmas? These questions are not to be answered by petty cavils at the conduct of this or that individual, or by the mention of censurable customs that may have been, in some quarters, countenanced. The subject must be considered as a whole, and in all its bearings. If the general plan is good, mistakes and errors in the minor details of it will be corrected by experience: and it is mean and illiberal, as well as unchristian, to oppose the enterprise by attempting to fix attention exclusively on a few alleged faults, even if the allegations are founded in fact.

But this point deserves an article by itself.

## THE NATIONAL SIN.

The Mosaic law required the liberation of Hebrew servants at the end of every sixth year. This law had long been disregarded, when Zedekiah at one time attempted to enforce it. He induced the people to "enter into a covenant" to observe it; and those who had been unjustly retained in bondage were accordingly set free. The principles of the law were acknowledged to be just and of binding force. This spirit, however did not long continue;—but passed away apparently with the circumstances that called it forth. The liberated servants were again brought into subjection, in contempt of law, and in violation of solemnly acknowledged principles of right. In these circumstances, Jeremiah was sent to the Jews with a message of solemn exhortation and warning. He reminded them of the original law—of the neglect of it by their fathers—of their own solemn and practical recognition of its obligations, which he declared to have been right in the sight of the Lord—then upbraided them with their relapse into the same sin in circumstances that greatly increased its enormity, and ended with a terrible warning, which begins thus:

"Therefore thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened to me in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine."\*

Now we as a nation have sinned just as those Jews did. The principles of right, in accordance with which we have from the first settlement of our country claimed to be treated ourselves, we have refused to apply to the case of our brethren whom we hold in bondage. That liberty, the claim to which on our part, and the principles of which as we have acknowledged and proclaimed to the world, we know to be right we have withheld. We have known the right, and have boastfully proclaimed our knowledge of and allegiance to it; but have refused or neglected to extend its benefits to our slaves.† And we are thus exposing ourselves to the very curse threatened by the prophet. So far as we have as individuals, failed to do our duty in regard to making this whole people consistent in applying the principles of American Liberty, just so far ought we as individuals, to regard as addressed to ourselves, the exhortations and warnings of Jeremiah.

In such circumstances what are we, in Vermont, to do? Can we be silent and inactive? What course can we take in order no longer to be partakers in the guilt connected with the continuance of slavery? How can we best combat the spirit of slavery; how most successfully labor to secure to its victims what is required by justice and the law of love?

We answer, by continuing to support the Colonization Society on anti-slavery principles. In connexion with what we do, let our principles in regard to slavery be fully and earnestly proclaimed. Let it be seen that we think and feel, and act under the control of deep convictions of duty on the subject; and that we are willing to labor and to make sacrifices in obedience to these convictions. Let our support of this society be such, and given on such grounds, as to prove our readiness to do our part towards making every man in the United States an intelligent freeman. Such support given to the cause here would operate in favor of the abolition of slavery in several ways,—of which we will now mention only one:

It would increase the Anti-Slavery influence of the Colonization Society in the slave-holding states. When a man liberates his slaves in order to

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\*See the 34th Chapter of Jeremiah.

† We speak of the *people* of the United States as a people bound by the laws of love and righteousness. Some of the *States*, as such, have become consistent. But as Christians, and friends of liberty, we are bound, to the extent of our influence, to see that such consistency prevails throughout the whole country.

emigrate to Liberia, he attracts the attention of his friends, and of all slave-holders in the vicinity, to the subject of manumission. His character is known. Those who thus liberate their slaves, are men whose characters command respect. The subject is urged home on the others by the authority of such an example. It is Anti-Slavery preaching of the most powerful kind; and we can use it, here and there throughout the whole South, without, by the manner of our approach, barring minds and hearts against our appeal. Such examples of manumission will increase just in proportion as we succeed in making our Colonies desirable homes for the blacks, and in providing funds to defray the expenses of their passage, &c. The subject may thus be kept before the mind and urged on the conscience of the slave-holder, without the intervention of any of that prejudice and ill-will that are too easily awakened by more direct appeals from non-slaveholding States.—[*Ibid.*]

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[From the *National Intelligencer*, August 30.]

#### FREE PERSONS OF COLOUR.

Approving of the patriotic design, our best wishes have always attended the exertions of the American Society for colonizing on the coast of Africa such free persons of color as desire to go thither, for the purpose of enjoying all the privileges of a free government, and have rejoiced to see the Society hitherto supported by the joint contributions of benevolent individuals in every part of the Union. We have also observed with pleasure, that the Colonization Society of Maryland (formerly an auxiliary of the Parent Society) has lately purchased Cape Palmas, on the coast of Africa, for the purpose of forming a separate establishment for that State, to be supported by the resources of the State, and under the entire control of that society; for the maintenance of which the Legislature has generously appropriated \$20,000 a year for ten years. But, after the State of Maryland had made so liberal an appropriation in behalf of its institution, we regretted to see that the Society had employed agents to solicit aid from the citizens of Massachusetts for carrying into effect their project; because we feared, that in doing so, they would, in proportion to their success, deprive the Parent Society of its usual support, which depends entirely on the voluntary contributions of individuals and auxiliary societies; and if these were to fail, no further additions could be made to the Colony, the emigrants at present in Liberia would necessarily be exposed to great want and distress, and the Society itself expire for want of that support which is indispensable to its existence.

The young men of Pennsylvania, or rather of Philadelphia, have also lately formed themselves into a Colonization Society, with a view of establishing a settlement at Bassa Cove, within the limits of Liberia: the Society to be auxiliary to the Parent Society, and the colonists to be governed by the general laws of the present colony, and such other municipal regulations as may be provided, subject to the approval of the Parent Board; the expense of settlement to be defrayed by funds to be raised by themselves within their own State.

Whatever separate colonial establishments may hereafter be formed on the African Coast by any of the States (if others shall be found desirable,) we think it would be but just towards the Parent Society, and expedient as regards the general cause of colonization, to confine themselves to their

own State for support, and leave the collections made in the churches, and the donations of individuals and auxiliary societies in the States generally, as at present, to go to the support of the Parent Society.

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### PROSPECTS OF LIBERIA.

The chances of success for the Colony of Liberia are; after making all due allowance for the inferiority of the blacks, just as fair as were the daring attempts of the early white settlers upon the continent of North America. Were not the expeditions of Columbus, Cabot, Raleigh, Hudson Winthrop, Oglethorpe, &c. also deemed visionary? Suppose our Puritan, Protestant, Catholic, German, Dutch, Swedish ancestors, had been of such timid temperament that they would have been deterred by the dissuasions of the croakers of that day? Our glorious empire would have still been a wilderness of savages, and this great experiment which we are making to demonstrate the capacity of man for self-government, would have been to this day an Utopian dream. With our own proud example, therefore, before us, we should be the first to encourage this noble attempt to reconquer degraded Africa from her miserable vassalage by the light which her own liberated children take back with them from this free country. The day may come when Liberia shall prove another rock of Plymouth, and Timbuctoo the seat of another Harvard—when Africa, the land of the moor, of the desert, and the camel, shall have its oases peopled by the sovereign States; and the inappreciable blessings of education and of republican institutions shall extend over her sandy plains from the gates of Hercules to the mouth of the Niger.—*N. Y. Star.*

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### LETTER FROM A COLONIST.

In our number for October, 1833, (*African Repository*, Vol. 9, p. 250,) we published a letter from Hanson Leiper, a respectable Colonist, to a gentleman in Georgetown, D. C. He has since addressed to the same gentleman another letter, dated "Edina, Grand Bassa, 11th May, 1834," from which we have been favoured with the following extract:

"I am very happy to inform you that I am well at present, and hope these few lines may find you the same. I received your letter with great delight, which afforded me great pleasure. I have almost come to the conclusion to come over in twelve months from this date. I have not lost the spirit of farming and agriculture; though a few months past, I have spent in exploring the interior of this country. I have travelled about 50 or 60 miles back in the interior, and in all the course of my travels, I have found the natives kind and benevolent. Camwood can be bought very plentifully, providing I had means; bullocks and fine goats may be purchased also plentifully in that section of the country. I have made several discoveries of metal, which I consider valuable; a sample of which, I have sent you in this letter. I, myself, agree with you that agriculture is one of the greatest things we can turn our attention to, either in the United States or Africa; although we in Africa, being somewhat in a diminutive state, are obliged to attend to the agricultural and commercial business. It has been about two weeks from this date, since we have drawn our forty-eight acres of land on the south-east side of St. John's river, and I must acknowledge, that I have never seen finer land or better timber any where else as yet, than that contained in our survey; which myself, with the thirty-three of our volunteers, intend to go on to, in our pursuit of farming. We have yet got along tolerably well since we have embarked at this place, with the exception of one of the chiefs named Yellow Will—he has made a little disturbance for a few months. This disturbance originated from a jealousy of one of the chiefs who we

consider almost as one of our citizens, named Bob Gray, against whom Yellow Will declared war. This warfare interfered with us in stopping the paths so our commercial business could not go on. On the third day of May, our superior, together with our Chief Magistrate and the Chiefs of the surrounding tribes, called a Council, had the subject properly investigated, and our friend, Bob Gray, gained the suit. At present, we are perfectly in peace and harmony."

## REPORT

*Of the Committee to whom was referred the subject of the Religious Instruction of the Colored population, of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, at its late Session in Columbia, S. C.—Published by order of Synod.*

(CONCLUDED FROM p. 207.)

### 4. Another benefit is, *we shall promote our own morality and religion.*

The influence of the negroes upon the moral and religious interests of the whites, is destructive in the extreme. We cannot go into special detail. It is unnecessary. We make our appeal to universal experience. We are chained to a putrid carcase; it sickens and destroys us. We have a millstone hanging about the neck of our society, to sink us deep in the sea of vice. Our children are corrupting from their infancy, nor can we prevent it. Many an anxious parent, like the missionary in foreign lands, wishes that his children could be brought up beyond the reach of the corrupting influence of depraved heathen. Nor is this influence confined to mere childhood. If that were all, it would be tremendous. But it follows us into youth, into manhood, and into old age.

And when we come directly in contact with their depravity in the *management* of them; then come temptations and provocations and trials that unsearchable grace only can enable us endure. In all our intercourse with them, we are undergoing a process of intellectual and moral deterioration, and it requires almost superhuman effort to maintain a high standing either for intelligence or piety.

The effort to evangelize them, will tend directly to increase and to encourage the growth of grace in our own souls. This is the testimony of those who have made the attempt.—Consequently, the Church will take a higher stand for piety, and realize the promise, "He that waters shall be watered also himself." And as God crowns our labors with blessings, the negroes will become more modest, more elevated in intelligence and morality;—our youth will be defended from contamination, and our riper years from overpowering trials. As the one class rises, so will the other;—the two are so intimately associated, that they rise or fall together—to benefit servants, evangelize the masters—to benefit the masters, evangelize the servants.

### 5. *Much unpleasant discipline will be saved to the Churches.*

The offences of colored communicants against Christian character and church order, are very numerous, and frequently heinous. The discipline is difficult, wearisome and unpleasant. Excommunications are of continued occurrence, and are usually, in a short time, followed by applications for re-admission; for with them, to die under sentence of excommunication, is eternal ruin itself. There never will be a better state of things until the negroes are better instructed in religion.

### 6. The last benefit we shall mention is, one that we convey to servants, instrumentally:—*It is the salvation of their souls.*

The great object for which we would communicate religious instruction is, that their souls may be saved. To this all other objects should be subordinate; and we believe that God will bless our instructions according to our desire. Strengthened by faith, let us be willing to sow in tears, for we shall reap in joy. Let us be willing to go forth weeping and bearing precious seed, for we shall come again with rejoicing, bearing sheaves with us. If the rest of Heaven is sweet to any human being, it is to the poor African. If the cheering hopes of a blessed immortality are necessary to any human being, to animate and sustain him in his pilgrimage below, they are necessary to the poor African. All souls are mine saith the Lord; and his glory may be advanced as much in the salvation of the soul of an African servant, as in the salvation of the soul of any other man whatever.

According to the Providence and word of God, it is our duty to impart the Gospel to our servants; and the duty is to us both privilege and interest; but to this present hour it has been neglected. And why neglected? Have we any excuse to offer, that God will accept? We tremble when we affirm, that the guilt of this neglect to perform such obvious and important duty, falls unrelieved upon the Southern Church; for we believe, that we can present not one excuse that will bear the test of candid examination.

Shall we say that *our servants already partake of the Gospel*? Have we not shown, that they do not to that extent that their necessities and our duty demand?

Shall we say, that *they are incapable of receiving it?*

Dare we utter a wilful, malicious libel against the *Great Parent of all?*

Dare we contradict his own most Holy Word? and incur the guilt of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, whose renewing influences are distinctly seen in numerous instances.

Shall we say that *we have not the means?*

Have we children—can we not instruct them? Have we servants—and can we not instruct them?

What may we not do by our own personal efforts? We may read and explain the Bible; teach portions of it; converse with them on the subject of the soul's salvation, and implore the blessing of God upon them. In a thousand ways, if we feel as we ought, we may do something.

And what may we not do through members of our own families, or pious or willing neighbors, who may be qualified to teach? What may we not do through the employment of missionaries, to devote their whole time to the negroes? But missionaries must be supported in such labor? Very true. But the expense borne by a neighborhood of planters, would fall lightly on each; while the peace of mind and the benefits resulting from such a discharge of duty, would counterbalance that expense. We know, however, that this is a delicate point, and men are hard to be moved to any good purpose touching it. The ministry to the whites is not adequately supported. There are very many great respecters and lovers of religion, who highly appreciate the privileges of the Gospel, and anxiously desire the salvation of perishing men; but who seem to think, that the instruments in this glorious work, require little or no pecuniary support; in a word, contrary to reason and Scripture, think that ministers should preach for nothing and find themselves. But can missionaries in sufficient numbers be procured? We answer they can. And the way to procure them is briefly this. In the first place, Pray ye the Lord of the harvest, that He would send forth laborers into his vineyard. And in the second—Associate yourselves—take up the work in good earnest, and employ all who present themselves; and if you have more fields than can be supplied, call for more missionaries, and they will be raised up and sent. The way to have our wants supplied, is to let them be known.

Shall we say, that *Christianity meets with little success amongst them?*

When we consider the influence of the circumstances of this people upon their religious character, our wonder should be, not that the Gospel meets with *little success*, but that it meets with *any success at all*, for their circumstances are in the last degree unfavorable to the cultivation of piety. We do not, however, make proper allowances in our expectations. We have lost much of our patience and benevolence. Having reduced them to ignorance and by our neglect of duty confirmed them in vice, we now quarrel with their stupidity and obduracy. If they are not made intelligent and pious in a few days, we are ready to cry out, that labor is vain; the field must be abandoned as an unprofitable one. We act unreasonably and uncharitably. We expect more of them than of ourselves, or any other people. *They who would evangelize servants, must let patience have her perfect work.*

It certainly comes with a very ill grace from us to speak of the little success of the Gospel amongst the negroes. That little success is our condemnation; for what great efforts have we made, that we should expect great success? Where we bestow no labor, we must expect no reward.

We may affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the Gospel meets with as much success amongst the negroes, as amongst any other unlettered heathen in the world, proper allowances being made. We should be encouraged, therefore, to put forth vigorous efforts in their behalf. God has designs of mercy towards them. When the soul is at stake, we are not to speak of expense and trouble in saving it. To overthrow the excuse at once, we add,—if the Gospel met with *no success at all*, it would be no reason why we should not undertake the religious instruction of the negroes. For if we certainly determine that it is our duty, (as we have already done) we should do it. The success of that instruction belongs not to us, but to God; nor are we to limit his sovereignty in granting or withholding a blessing at any particular time. We are to labor *in faith*, and labor *on*.—This is the view which every Christian should and must take of the subject.

Shall we say that *there are peculiar and great difficulties hard to be overcome?*

Such for example, as the ignorance, indifference, and in some instances, the opposition of masters—the want of funds—of missionaries—of systems of instruction—the stupidity and viciousness of servants, and confinement to *oral* instruction entirely? We ask, will these and other difficulties that might be mentioned, be removed by being let alone? Are there any means now in operation for their removal? Will they ever be fewer in number than they are at the present time?

There are difficulties in every enterprise of benevolence, and if we wait in our efforts to do good, until all difficulties are removed, we shall never commence. Times are suddenly and strangely altered in the world if Christians can do good without encountering much that will try the purity and firmness of their purposes. Shall we cower and retire before difficulties? By no means. We are to encounter them patiently, kindly, perseveringly; casting our care on God. He calls us to the duty. The work is His. In His strength we labor. Do difficulties present themselves? Remember God is great. Difficulties appear large in the distance; but the nearer and more resolute our advance, the

smaller they become, until when in the strength of the Lord we encounter them, they vanish out of sight. But, of whose creation are these difficulties? Certainly not of the poor negroes? In themselves considered, we meet with no difficulties but such as arise from the natural enmity of the heart to truth. The difficulties lie at our door, and it is unjust that they should be made innocent sufferers. We thrust ourselves and our arrangements between them and eternal life and then make excuse, that there are difficulties in the way!

We have no excuses. The reason of our neglect of duty, is our ignorance on the one hand, and our indisposition on the other. As the true light now begins to shine, we cannot retain either the one or the other, without convicting ourselves of heinous sin.

There are some objections to the religious instruction of the negroes, originating, as we believe, in misconceptions of the subject. We feel it our duty to give these objections a brief consideration.

The first is, *If we suffer our negroes to be religiously instructed, the tendency, yea the certain end of it, will be emancipation.*

In reply, we remark, that we separate entirely their moral and their civil condition; and contend, that the one may be attended to, without interfering with the other.

Our principle is that laid down by the Holy and Just One—"Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's; and unto God the things which are God's." And Christ and his Apostles are our example. Did they deem it proper to preach the Gospel to servants? They did. Did they, in discharge of this duty, interfere with their civil condition? They did not.—They expressed no opinion whatever on their civil condition, if we except that which appears in one of the epistles to the Corinthian Church. There the Apostle Paul considers a state of freedom preferable to one of servitude and advises slaves, if they can lawfully obtain their freedom, to do it, but not otherwise. May we not follow in the footsteps of the Saviour and his Apostles? Yea, and without proceeding as far as did the Apostle Paul? We maintain, that in a judicious religious instruction, there will be no necessary interference with their civil condition. The religious teacher must step out of his way for the purpose. This we know from our own experience.

But why will the end of religious instruction be emancipation? Do not the majority, perhaps of our citizens who make this objection, consider slavery sanctioned by the Bible? Do they sincerely believe it? If they do, why then do they hesitate to have the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible, preached to their servants? But do they believe the contrary? Then our answer is but a word: Shall thousands, and even millions of immortal minds be sacrificed at the shrine of cupidity? Which ought to prevail for the good of mankind, for the glory of our country, for the prosperity of the cause of God,—principle or interest? Right or wrong? Let the enlightened conscience of the philanthropist, of the patriot, and of the Christian, return the answer.

The tendency feared in the objection, is a moral one only, which we cannot possibly avoid, do what we may. It is folly to contend against God. Christianity is ultimately to prevail on the earth, and in due course of time, will reach our servants. And should the particular end, spoken of in the objection, come by the preaching of the Gospel, happy are we in believing, that it could not come in a more gradual, in an easier nor in a safer way. It will be the work of the Almighty, the effect of the Divine principles of his word, which, in their operation, while they impel the master to the end, will restrain the servant from all acts of precipitate violence to attain it. And thus may the glory of the removal of the evil be laid at the foot of the cross.

We express ourselves thus freely, because we are called upon to meet an objection, which, if it prevails, will be ruinous to the prosperity of our country, and the best interests of vast multitudes of souls.

Come what may, as Christians, we have no alternative. If we are to obey God our Saviour, we must preach the Gospel to servants; and as we have already said, so say we again—*Let us and all our interests fall into the hands of God.*

If we suffer our negroes to be religiously instructed, *the way will be opened for men from abroad to enter in, and inculcate doctrines subversive of our interest and safety.*

The field of labor is one of no ordinary difficulty; and it is the dictate of prudence, to look into the character and qualifications of those who enter it. On this point we wish to be distinctly understood. They should be *Southern men*—men entitled to this appellation, either those who have been born and reared in the South, or those who have identified themselves with the South, familiarly acquainted with the structure of society, and having all their interests here. Can objections be urged against such men? Is it probable that they will ruin themselves, their families and their interests?

The very spirit which prompts the objection, refutes it? For, how is it possible, when such a wary vigilance is manifested, for individuals, *strangers* in the community, to come in, have access to the negroes, and sow the seeds of discontent and revolt? It is impossible. They cannot come unless we permit them.

The most effectual method to preclude the introduction of such persons, is for us to take the religious instruction of the negroes into our own hands, and to superintend it ourselves. We shall then know, *who their teachers are, and what they are taught.*

3. The religious instruction of the negroes, *will lead to insubordination.*

They will assume an equality with the master, neglect their work, and resist discipline.

This might be the effect of injudicious instruction—of instruction that did not recognize their condition in society, and inculcate the duties appropriate to it. But let us “rightly divide the word, and the evil apprehended at once vanishes. What saith the Scripture? Ministers are commanded to “exhort servants to be obedient unto their own masters, and to please them well in all things: not answering again: not purloining, but showing all good fidelity: that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.” Again:—“Servants be obedient unto them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness, as unto Christ; not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service as to the Lord and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.” The passage in Colossians, is similar. We bring forward two more. “Servants be subject to your masters with all fear: not only to the good and gentle but also to the froward. For this is thank-worthy if a man, for conscience toward God endure grief suffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when you be buffeted for your faults, ye shall take it patiently? But if when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.”

“Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed: And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort.”

Such are the commands to servants, as comprehensive of their duties as any master could desire. We even see the Apostle Paul using his influence to secure obedience to these commands in a particular instance. The “unprofitable” Onesimus he restores to his master, though he had escaped from him to the distance of several hundred miles.—He restores him a “brother beloved.” His letter to Philemon for beauty and excellency is above all praise.

We now ask, will the authority of masters be weakened by instructions of this sort?—No, never. That authority is strengthened by considerations drawn from eternity. If insubordination ensues, it will be the fault of the master, and not of the instruction. The master is the master still. Religious instruction, while it softens down the severity of discipline, by elevating the moral principles of master and servant, does not supersede the necessity of it. Otherwise, men would be made perfect in this life. Our view is, *that religious instruction should be accompanied with a proper and efficient discipline.*—Should the master relax his discipline, whether he gives religious instruction or not, his servants will become disorderly and unprofitable. We desire the sentiments now expressed to be pondered and adopted by all who wish well to the cause of religion among servants.

What parent considers the religious instruction of his children, as having a tendency to make them more wicked and disorderly? Or, what judicious parent will relax his discipline, because he gives religious instruction? Will not the very fact of giving that instruction, prompt him to perfect and maintain discipline? We are to act towards our servants, on the same principles that we act towards our children.

Will they not, however, embrace the seasons of religious worship, for originating and executing plans of insubordination?

We answer, by no means, if the religious teacher is faithful in his supervision of his charge, and is assisted in the public meetings by the planters, for whose servants he labors. The presence of white men in their religious assemblies, precludes such a thing. Wherever such plans have been originated in religious meetings, it was because the white community was unfaithful to the negroes, and to themselves: They should have been present in those meetings. To leave the negroes to themselves in their religious affairs, is placing them in the way of temptation.

But why are men so tenacious of religious assemblies? Are not the negroes privileged by some to assemble for feasting and merriment, for particular kinds of labor, and at places of trade? We hear of no objections against such assemblies. If we are competent to the management of the latter, we certainly are of the former.

4. The religious instruction of the negroes *will do no good; it will only make them worse men and worse hypocrites.*

What is the Gospel? Is it not the grace of God that bringeth salvation;—teaching us that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously and godly in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works? This is the Gospel.—These are the things which we are to teach and exhort. And is it under such teaching and exhortation, that men will increase in crime and hypocrisy?—Why should the Gospel produce an effect upon negroes contrary to that which it is designed to produce, and which it actually produces on all other men, and on some whose condition is worse than theirs?

From what people did we, with all our piety and morality and intelligence spring?—From a people, we were about to say, once as degraded as negroes. And what has lifted

us so far above our progenitors? The Gospel, and nothing but the Gospel. Is there, then, no redeeming power in the Gospel for the Africans? We believe that there is, because they are men, endowed with reason and conscience as are other men; because past history declares it, because we know it from our own personal observation, which is supported by that of others. We would point all who doubt of the salutary effects of attempts to christianize Africans, to the present condition of the Hottentots and other tribes, under the care of the London Missionary Society at the Cape of Good Hope. Yea the Hottentots!

And what is the moral degradation of any people to the power of the Holy Ghost?—The immortal mind may be darkened and polluted by ignorance and sin; but the immortal mind is there, and that precious jewel may be cleansed of its defilements, filled with light and purity, and fitted for the highest and most honorable uses, both in this world and in that which is to come.

The objection is not supported by a solitary fact. Wherever negroes have really enjoyed, for any reasonable time, the privileges of the Gospel, in point of general morality and order, they are in advance of those who have not enjoyed them. Is it not conceded, that a truly pious servant gives less trouble, and is more profitable, than one who is not? Is there one planter in a thousand who does not desire such servants? Is it not true, that the most pious servants exert the happiest influence in promoting honesty and good order on plantations and in neighborhoods?

That there are a number of nominal Christians amongst them, we do not deny. But why is it so? Are they made hypocrites by faithful instruction? No. The abounding of spurious religion, results from a deficiency of faithful instruction, and a too hasty admission into the Church, after a profession of conversion? A reformation on our part, in regard to these two particulars, would produce a very happy effect upon the purity and permanency to their religious character.

The fact that many are hypocrites, proves to no inconsiderable extent, that there are advantages connected with a profession of religion; and where shall we look mainly for these advantages, if not to that higher estimation in which they are held by all persons?

One or two irregularities in their meetings, or one or two defections, are sufficient to prejudice the minds of many against the religious instruction of the negroes. Because they remain impenitent and pervert the Gospel, therefore are they unworthy of it? Who, then would be worthy, if God should deal with us according to this rule?

Suppose we admit the objection to be true in its fullest extent, and what then? Does it annul our duty? Far from it. Let them harden themselves and grow worse under the means of grace; whether they will hear or forbear, we are to throw the responsibility of their salvation upon their own shoulders, and to clear our garments of their blood. And who are we—in what age, and in what country of the world do we live, that we should question the excellency of the Gospel—the propriety of preaching it to the poor?

The objections, now briefly considered, we do not deem of sufficient weight to deter us from the conclusion to which we have already come, *that it is our duty to impart the Gospel to our colored population.*

We cannot close this report, extended beyond our expectations by the interest of the subject, without asking ourselves, nay, the Church of Christ, in the slave-holding States, why is not this duty felt; and why has it not been performed?

Why is there such general apathy to the perishing condition of two millions of heathen? Why is it, that so much feeling may be awakened, touching their civil condition—and so little, touching their religious condition? The latter is infinitely to be esteemed above the former, and proportionably attended to.

Are not ministers of the Gospel to be blamed? Why have they not looked into the destitute condition of this people,—and, as they have had opportunity, labored for their salvation, esteeming them as part of their charge? Why have they not urged upon masters, their duties to their servants? Are ministers not set to watch for souls, and carry the Gospel in every way they can to the destitute?

Are not Christian masters to be blamed? Why have they not seriously undertaken to do something for their ignorant, degraded servants, who are every day toiling to supply them with the comforts of life?

The guilt lies upon both Ministers and people, and it has been accumulating ever since the introduction of negroes into this country. We who profess to know what is the value of the soul, what is the love and preciousness of the Saviour, we are to take the lead; the world never will. What a multitude of souls have perished through our neglect! What a multitude are now perishing, and will perish ere we reach them with the good news of salvation! What a multitude of masters have already met with the awful charge at the Bar of God, of having practically despised the eternal interests of the souls of their servants.—This charge lies upon masters on every hand; and we tremble lest they may meet it unprepared.

Our whole country groans under the sin of neglect of the salvation of these people. If we continue in this neglect, as God hath now spoken to us, as the true light now shineth, we shall have no cloak for our sin.

We shall manifest a fearful deficiency in the spirit of the religion which we profess.

That spirit is one of *love*—of *obedience*. "If ye love me, keep my commandments."—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." "*Masters, render unto your servants that which is just and equal.*" "*Preach the Gospel to every creature.*" We are weighed in the balances and found wanting. Do we not see our brother have need, and do we not shut up the bowels of our compassion from him? What avail our numerous works of benevolence?—Our Missionaries dwelling in foreign countries, and penetrating to the most destitute settlements of our own? Our Bibles and our Tracts, that all must receive and read? Our Sunday schools, and Seamen, Friend, and Prison Discipline, and Temperance, and numerous other Societies? The very means which we use in contributing to these works, come of the labors of our perishing servants; and no provision is made for them! We are inconsistent. And our Saviour will say to us, "These ye ought to have done, and not have left the other undone." If servants have immortal souls, we must treat them accordingly.—To clothe them when they are naked—to feed them when they are hungry—to minister to them when they are sick, does not embrace all our duty. If we do no more, we treat them as the brutes that perish. We must rise higher, and be careful to minister to the necessities of their souls.

On the principles of *self-interest* and *love of country* the duty should be discharged. He who neglects it, loses sight of his own best interests for time and eternity, and of the peace and prosperity of his country. But we take our stand in the discharge of this duty on *Christum principles*—on conscience enlightened by the Word of God, and quickened by the Holy Spirit. Here is the foundation—and if such a foundation exists in the Church of Christ in the slave-holding States, the duty will be felt, and a discharge of it attempted.—We believe that such a foundation exists, and we look and appeal with confidence to the Church, to awake to effort in all her members.

The negroes are cast at the door of the Southern Church. They form her great field of Missions, and we cannot allow the claims of any heathen in the world upon us, to be paramount to theirs; and we make the declaration, *that unless we occupy this field, we need not expect the blessing of God to any extent upon our Zion*, for we shall be living in known neglect of duty, and neglect of such duty as must be exceedingly displeasing to Him.

The time is short: What we do we must do quickly. We shall soon be in our graves, returning to the dust side by side with our servants. We shall soon be before the Bar of God, where the artificial distinctions of this world will not be recognized. God is no respecter of persons. Every man shall be judged according to his work. Let us, therefore, in the strength of our God and Saviour, renounce our ignorance, and our indisposition, and extend the privileges of the Gospel to this neglected, dying people, or we shall not meet them in peace at the last day.

#### MR. RIVES AND COLONIZATION.

WILLIAM C. RIVES, a distinguished citizen of Virginia, and recently minister of the United States to France, addressed to a friend on the 20th of August last, a letter of which the following extract appears in the Richmond Enquirer of September 9th.

*Extract of a letter to H. A. G. Esq.—Aug. 30th, 1834.*

"I am no *Abolitionist*, and never have been one. In common with every American patriot, I have deplored the existence of slavery in our country, and would rejoice to see any safe and feasible remedy adopted, if such could be devised, to mitigate or to remove the evil. But I would never give my sanction to any remedy which would disregard the rights of property to the slave owner; which I consider as held under the same guarantees of the law and the Constitution, that protect every other right of property. I did not approve of any of the schemes which were proposed in the Legislature, at the time the subject was under consideration in that body; but, on the contrary, saw insuperable objections to all of them. The policy I have favored, as both the *most safe and practicable*, is that of the *COLONIZATION* scheme, which by gradually draining the country of its free colored population, and of slaves who should be voluntarily manumitted by their masters, would at the same time, promote the interests of the slave owners themselves, by removing a great source of corruption and disaffection among the slaves, and by keeping down the aggregate number of slaves, would place the problem of an ultimate extinction of slavery, at some remote period of our future history, more within the power of auspicious contingencies which the course of events might present."

"These are the views I have always entertained, and repeatedly expressed. They are, as far as I can recollect, the views expressed by me in my correspondence with my friends

while I was in France. Alive as I was, during my residence abroad, to every thing which affected the feelings and interests of my country, I could not but be deeply moved by the horrid catastrophe which occurred in Southampton, in the summer of 1831. I saw that public attention had been every where in our State, awakened to the great question which that event had forced on the reflection of even the most careless and unthinking. Under these circumstances, I have no doubt that, in my communications with my friends, I expressed in strong terms, my sense of the evil of slavery in our country, and an anxious desire, if any remedy for it could be devised, to see some safe and prudent measure adopted to lessen, if not remove it. I felt, at the same time, all the delicacy and difficulty of the subject, which I well recollect to have expressed, and to have declared my conscious inability, at the distance I was from the scene of deliberation, and deprived of an interchange of opinion with others, to judge what ought to be done. My general views, however, were those which I have stated above—they are the views I now entertain; and I feel satisfied, that there was nothing either in my letter to Mr. Ritchie, or to any other of my correspondents, inconsistent with the explanation here given of those views."

### INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. JOHNSON CLEVELAND, a highly respectable citizen and Magistrate of Loudon county, Va. died at his residence on the 24th of August last, having made provision in his last will and testament that it should be optional with his slaves whether to emigrate to Liberia, or to choose for themselves among his near kindred, a master; and that they should be allowed two years for deciding.

#### AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

The subjoined letter brings the pleasing intelligence of the institution of an Auxiliary Colonization Society at Kinderhook Academy, N. York:

KINDERHOOK ACADEMY, Aug. 26, 1834.

DEAR SIR:—

It is with pleasure I can inform you of the recent organization of an Auxiliary Colonization Society in this Academy. It has commenced under very auspicious circumstances, embracing about twenty members; and the hope is cherished, that from a peaceful beginning, it will go on, conciliating the good will of persons who may entertain different views from those of the Society; and, by diffusing correct information on the subject of Colonization among the students, and giving a fixedness to their principles and a noble and salutary channel to the zeal and enthusiasm with which they enter the world; be the means of ultimately doing some good in the cause of human liberty and happiness. The Preamble to our Constitution reads thus:—

WHEREAS the wretched condition of the People of Colour in this country calls for immediate amelioration, and the kind sympathies and cordial support of every benevolent and Christian heart in any work that is calculated to effect so desirable an end; and WHEREAS the *American Coloniza-*

*tion Society* has recommended itself to the world, by the benign influence it has exerted upon this class of our fellow-beings; by the disinterestedness and expanded beneficence of its scheme; its enlightening and Christianizing action upon Africa; its fully developed tendency to create a spirit of emancipation; and the dignity and elevation the Negro character is deriving from its sweet and healing influences—

*Therefore be it Resolved*, That we form ourselves into a Society for aiding in the advancement of so grateful and laudable an object, and adopt the following articles for its furtherance.

One article in our Constitution is nearly to this effect: That the Society shall aid the Parent Institution, not only by the contribution of money, but also by the exertion of its influence in forming other Societies.—The necessity of the latter clause of that article, was foreseen by many: It would be necessary that something should be done to counteract, or rather to forestal, the influence which the gratuitous publications, emitted from the "Oneida Institute" and other places, might possibly create; and therefore the article was made, so that it might furnish ground for future exertion in the shape of circulars, etc.

I am authorized to write for the "Repository," which, from the commencement of the present volume, you will please send, if you can, directed to "The Secretary of the Kinderhook Academy Colonization Society." The Money will be remitted, for the same, by the Hon. A. Vanderpool, M. C. together with as much more as is realized from the Society.

With the greatest respect,

CHAS. J. SCOTT,

Sec'y of K. A. C. S.

To the Sec'y of Am. }  
Colonization Society, } Rev. R. R. GURLEY.

It is with peculiar pleasure that we transfer to the columns of the Repos-

itory, from the Fredericksburg Arena of the 22d of August, the well written and comprehensive though brief Report of the Managers of the Fredericksburg and Falmouth Female Auxiliary Colonization Society. Their eloquent appeal in behalf of the cause in which they are engaged will not, it is hoped, be heard in vain, in a State so much interested as Virginia is in the success of the Colonizing Scheme, and where female benevolence is so deservedly influential. The determination of the ladies of Fredericksburg and Falmouth to direct their efforts to the encouragement of female education at the Colony is calculated to produce the most important benefits to Liberia, and will, we trust, find many imitators among our fair country women throughout the union.

*Report of the Board of Managers of the Fredericksburg and Falmouth Female Colonization Society, presented July 4th, 1834.*

The receipts of the Society, from the 20th of July, 1833, to the 4th of July, 1834, were

\$129 28

Balance on hand 30th July, 1833, 65 57

\$194 85

The receipts accrued from the subscriptions of members, and the donations of friends. Among both of these classes, the ladies in the country have been conspicuous for zeal and liberality. The disbursements were—

For outfit and passage to Norfolk of two Colonists, \$27 37

Cash sent to the Parent Society at Washington, - - - 167 00

\$194 37

Balance on hand, 48

\$194 85

The two colonists above mentioned were Sally, a woman freed by Mr. William Berry, of Orange, and Melinda, a girl liberated by Mr. John Morton, late of Fredericksburg—with a direct view to their settlement in Africa. They sailed in November last, on board the ship *Jupiter*, from Norfolk, among 54 emigrants. That vessel, having safely deposited its freight in Liberia, returned, more than four months ago, to our own shores.

The outfit of those two colonists, and the remittance of that small sum to the American Colonization Society, constitute all the fruits of our little association during the past year. With chagrin and regret we acknowledge a result so unworthy of our cause—so incommensurate with the results of other similar associations—and so incalculably dis-

proportioned to the wealth, intelligence, and public spirit, of the community around us.—That so little has been done, can be attributed only to a deplorable, but not unaccountable apathy pervading and benumbing the public mind, towards the Colonization scheme: an apathy, traceable at once to ignorance of what the society has done, and misapprehension of what it designs to do.—Some of its adversaries charge it, with aiming secretly at *Abolition*; others, with a deadly and unpardonable *hostility to Abolition*.—Leaving these inconsistent objections to be refuted, as well by their mutual contradiction, as by their inherent and oft established falsehood, the Board will simply declare, that the object of the Colonization Society is, *To settle, in Africa, such free persons of colour as may freely consent to go thither*; and that the chief end of this removal is, *To improve the condition of the emigrants*. Two secondary advantages are indeed expected: relief to America; civilization, christianity and free government, to Africa: but these objects, so vast in the eye of the statesman and philanthropist, are yet immeasurably subordinate to the first, in the wishes of the Colonization Society.

But not even the unjust ascription of improper motives has so much averted public favour from this cause, as ignorance and unbelief of its actual and probable success. In vain has the Colony *lived down* the croakings of those prophets, who averred its speedy and total failure to be inevitable: in vain has it advanced in population, wealth and the useful arts, beyond all former colonies known to History: in vain have its advantages, and its successful progress, been heralded forth by its white friends, by deputies of our coloured people, sent out to examine its real condition; and by the colonists themselves, in a touching and persuasive appeal to their brethren here. The public ear has been deaf, the public mind has been drugged so as to hear not, or understand not, the truth so repeatedly and impressively told: and at this moment, ninety-nine hundredths of the Virginia people know none of the material facts relative to the colony. That it possesses 5 or 6000 square miles of land so fertile, in a climate so congenial to the black man's constitution, as to be capable of sustaining a million of inhabitants, with power to extend its dominion peaceably, almost at pleasure, over the surrounding wilds—that it has three towns, one of which contains 220 dwelling houses, several Churches for Christian worship, several schools, a newspaper press, prosperous warehouses of merchandise, and wharves and a port enlivened by an active commerce—that it numbers already three thousand inhabitants—that it enjoys a government on the American model, with jury trial and a well disciplined militia, those best bulwarks of Liberty—that it has done much, and bids fair to do much more, towards extirpating the African slave trade—that the surrounding native tribes are peaceably and amicably disposed—that two

of them have placed themselves under the protection of the colony, soliciting a share in its polity, and are sending their children to its schools—and that this triumphant progress is the work, not of some powerful government, but of private bounty and private enterprise alone—are facts, utterly unknown to the great mass of our people, yet as unquestionable as the existence of London, or as the events of the American Revolution.

With these facts in view, no reflecting mind can doubt, that the colony must succeed. It will present, every year, ample accommodations and more resistless attractions to our free coloured people. The daily decrease in the cost of transportation, will soon enable thousands, annually, to emigrate. They will prefer a land where wealth and social dignity, and all the natural rewards of merit, await them, to one where, whatever their talents and virtues, their inevitable lot is hopeless and perpetual degradation. They will flock to Africa: they will fill, they will regenerate it.

One of the most important duties of the Society obviously is, to diffuse widely a knowledge of the facts, which commend the colony to public favour. The whites should be enlightened on the subject, that they may speed on the work: the free people of colour, that they may willingly and joyfully embrace that bettered condition, which is offered them in the clime of their ancestors. How strenuously diligent should each member of our little association be, in shedding this benign light upon the darkened minds of her country!—in amassing information, in explaining the merits of the cause; in circulating pamphlets and documents that may exhibit those merits justly; and in stimulating her friends to study them!

Perhaps the greatest present want of the colony, is the want of *usefully instructed citizens*. Education, vital to every free community, is peculiarly so to Liberia, from the very natural deficiencies under which its people have heretofore labored. The laws of Virginia forbid the teaching of free coloured persons to read and write: but means might be adopted to promote their instruction after landing in Liberia: and owners, who design to manumit for deportation, should be made sensible how important it is to fit the mind for freedom, before that otherwise dangerous boon is conferred.

With these views of the importance of Education, the Board of Managers would beg leave respectfully to recommend a change in the character and objects of the Society—Devolving upon the National and State societies the duty of removing emigrants to Africa, they would suggest the propriety of confining the exertions of this association to the specific object of *encouraging Female Education in the Colony of Liberia*. The Managers do not think it necessary to dilate here upon the importance, in every point of view, of the blessings of education in the early stages of a colony such as Liberia, nor of the benign influences likely to be dispensed by

well educated females in every community. They think these are apparent to every mind. Much has been done in promoting female education in the colony, by societies in Richmond, Philadelphia, New York and elsewhere—With these we might co-operate.—The most enlightened friends of Colonization highly approve of this diversion of funds from the general coffers of the society, to the specific object of education in Liberia, and it would seem to us that it is peculiarly befitting our sex to be thus engaged.

To assist in the regeneration of one continent and the amelioration of another, are the noble ends before us. Yet noble as they are, the means of attaining them, happily, do not wholly disdain female co-operation. Gentleness, persuasion, self-denial, industry, and perseverance, are chief implements of the work: and who will say that to employ these is unfeminine? Let us, without overstepping the sphere of our sex, exert the faculties which Providence has for good purposes bestowed. Woman may not, indeed, thunder in the Senate, or declaim in popular assemblies: but at the fireside, no decorum forbids her to plead with tongue and pen, the cause of bleeding humanity and justice.—Her exertions there, may enlist that eloquence, which custom permits to challenge and captivate the public ear. In this great cause, she may effect much by direct efforts; by an intermediate agency, she may accomplish more; and may share largely of the benedictions which two continents will probably one day outpour upon the early advocates of African Colonization.

In pursuance of the suggestions of the Board of Managers, the Society, at its meeting on the 4th July, 1834, determined to assume the character of a Female African Education Society—the objects of which should be the promotion of female Education in the Colony of Liberia.

[From the *Généva (N. Y.) Gazette*, July 9th.]

At a meeting of the Young Men of Geneva, held for the purpose of forming a Colonization Society, J. W. STANSBURY was called to the chair, and J. W. TILLMAN appointed secretary.

The objects of the Society were briefly stated; and on motion,

*Resolved*, That we do form ourselves into a Colonization Society, auxiliary to the New York State Colonization Society.

Messrs. S. M. Hopkins, Webster, Butler, Dixon, Dox, Sill, Bronson and Greves were appointed a committee to prepare a constitution for the Society, and report at the next meeting.

Messrs. S. Hopkins, Hamlin, Handy, Dox, and Dixon, were appointed a committee to prepare and report resolutions expressive of the sense of this meeting.

Adjourned to meet on Monday evening, 30th June.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment, J. W. Stansbury in the chair.

J. W. Stansbury in the chair.

Mr. S. Hopkins from the committee, reported the following resolutions, which were adopted:

*Resolved*, That the plan of colonizing the free colored population of our country, presents the only safe and practicable means of elevating them to a proper place among the members of the human family.

*Resolved*, That while we sincerely deprecate the existence of slavery in our land, we confidently apprehend that immediate and universal emancipation would prove disastrous to the liberated slave, and seriously interrupt the harmony of our federal union.

*Resolved*, That, although the extinction of slavery in our land is a consummation ardently to be desired by every patriot, we entirely disclaim any legal right whatever, to interfere in the subject of slavery, and desire to work only through the influence of moral suasion.

*Resolved*, That the political emancipation of the colored population of our country, presents one of the most interesting and important considerations for the deliberation of our enlightened people, and that the elevation of their moral and intellectual character, unfolds one of the noblest fields for philanthropic enterprise.

*Resolved*, That the ancient and deep-rooted prejudices existing throughout our country, and several radical distinctions of character, interpose invincible barriers to the political and social amalgamation of the colored with the white population.

*Resolved*, That the voluntary emigration of the free colored population of our country to the land of their fathers, is calculated to exert a most happy influence, in elevating them in the scale of rational beings; in checking the enormities of the slave trade, and in introducing civilization and christianity among the barbarous tribes of Africa.

Mr. Dixon from the committee, presented a constitution, which was adopted.

The following persons were then elected officers of the Society:

SAM'L M. HOPKINS, *President*.  
WILLIAM MILFORD, *1st V. President*.  
JAMES W. STANSBURY, *2d* "  
JAS. W. TILLMAN, *Rec. Secretary*.  
CHARLES BUTLER, *Cor. Secretary*.  
E. K. BLYTH, *Treasurer*.

HORACE WEBSTER, WM. E. SILL, JOHN GREVES, P. M. DOX, L. W. HAMLIN, Board of Directors.

On motion of Mr. C. Butler,

*Resolved*, That the Board of Directors be requested to confer with the different clergymen of this village, upon the propriety of presenting the subject of colonization to their respective congregations, and taking up a collection in aid of the objects of the Society.

*Resolved*, That the Board of Directors be instructed to call a special meeting of the society on the evening preceding the commencement of Geneva College, and to appoint a person to deliver an address on that

occasion. Adjourned.

Published by order of the Board of Directors.  
J. W. STANSBURY, *Ch'n*.

J. W. TILLMAN, *Sec'y*.

From the Christian Intelligencer.

COLONIZATION MEETING.

Catskill, 22d July, 1834.

MESSRS. EDITORS.—As we believe that the promotion of the Colonization Society is the only feasible method of benefiting the colored population of our country, and of preserving the community from the horrors consequent on the excitement of popular indignation respecting the subject of abolition—we are very happy to communicate some account of a Colonization Meeting held in this place last evening.

This was an adjourned Meeting from a former one a fortnight since. Dr. Porter was called to the chair, and Rev. Mr. Owen opened with prayer.

The following resolutions were moved and carried without a dissenting voice.

*Resolved*, That the apathy of the community to the interests of the Colonization Society is deeply to be deplored and portentous of evil.

*Resolved*, That the Colonization Society is a generous, rational, and practicable expedient to do good to the coloured population of the United States, and has redeemed its pledges as far as the period of its existence could lead us to expect.

*Resolved*, That any past mistakes in the management of the Colonization Society constitute no reason why efficient pecuniary aid should now be withheld.

*Resolved*, That while this meeting entirely condemns the riotous proceedings directed against the abolitionists in N. York, and elsewhere; yet we perceive in these acts the anticipated and legitimate results of the Abolition scheme.

*Resolved*, That Messrs. Dr. Haugland, and Maltby Sayre, be a committee to solicit from our citizens subscriptions in favour of the Colonization Society.

These Resolutions were supported by appropriate and energetic addresses, by Rev. Messrs. Smith, Van Liew, and Wyckoff, and Francis Sayre, Esq. In the course of the meeting, the reply to Dr. Cox's letter contained in the June number of the Repository, was read with great acceptance. No doubt public opinion among us is greatly strengthened in favor of Colonization, by recent events.

Yours,

PHILO AFRICANUS 2D.

#### PREACHING TO SLAVES.

We are informed that Mr. Van Rensselaer [son of Hon. S. Van Rensselaer of Albany] has preached to the slaves at more than 20 different places in Halifax, and that he has been sustained and encouraged in these labors, by the proprietors of the largest plantations and the most respectable citizens of that county. The estimation in which his labors are held, wherever he is known, is of

itself a refutation of the remark which good men sometimes countenance,—that “*northern ministers will not be received by the people, or cannot be useful at the South.*” This remark, in the unqualified manner in which it is sometimes uttered, implies a slander on the intelligence and character of the southern people, which we consider very unjust. It takes it for granted that the people are so fully under the dominion of local prejudices and have so little liberality and discrimination in their estimates of character, that the fact that a man was born or educated north of the Potomac, is a sufficient reason for them to exclude him from their Society, or at least to refuse him admission to spheres of usefulness where his services are greatly needed. The imputation of such a prejudice to the southern people *en masse*, is very unjust.—There may be some narrow minded souls of this sort in every parallel of latitude—but this is not the character of the enlightened christian community, and of intelligent citizens generally in the southern States. Let northern men possess the principles, spirit, and character, which Mr. V. R. has manifested, and they will be well received by respectable citizens as soon as their character shall be known.—*Richmond Tel.*

[From *Poulson's Daily Advertiser.*]  
LIBERIA.

We rejoice to notice that each arrival from the Colony affords new proofs of the benefits conferred on long-suffering Africa by the wise and philanthropic labors of the American Colonization Society. The following extract from the letter of an old and highly respectable colored colonist, to a gentleman of Philadelphia, will, we are sure, gratify the friends of the cause:

“Our new and excellent Governor (PINEY) is quite indefatigable in his labors to push forward the interests of the Colony, and strongly reminds us of the sainted Ashmun. He has determined upon and taken measures to re-establish a public farm near Caldwell, on the plan of Mr. Ashmun, where all idle persons and vagrants may be placed. Many persons are going to farming, and I am within bounds when I say that three times the quantity of ground will be put under cultivation this season, over any preceding year.”

Of that admirable lady, Mrs. SANSOM, whose inestimable labors in planting Schools in Africa, are but too little known and appreciated, he says:

“I am happy to inform you, that the Schools supported by the Ladies of Philadelphia, continue to exert the most beneficial influence on our rising generation, and many will live to bless the name of BEULAH SANSOM. We had an exhibition of ELIZA-

BETH THOMPSON'S School in the Methodist Meeting House, and I cannot express the great interest felt on the occasion. Our warehouses were shut up, so that all might attend. It was very largely attended, although each had to pay 12 1-2 cents. Mr. EDEN, at New Georgia, among the re-captured Africans, is doing well.”

We understand that the Ladies' Society intend very shortly establishing a Manual Labour School, under the charge of a highly respectable friend and his wife, in the new Colony of Pennsylvania, founded by the Young Men's Colonization Society, at Bassa Cove, and as their funds are inadequate for meeting the heavy expenditure of their extended benevolence, we hope they will be remembered and patronized by some of our affluent citizens.

#### DEFERRED ARTICLES.

The following Letter and Resolution were expected to appear in former numbers of the Repository, but were casually omitted:—

[From the *N. Y. Spectator*, June 2d.]

#### COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The following gratifying letter with its enclosure, was received on Saturday:—

NEW YORK, May 31, 1834.

Dear Sir—In presenting this 100 dollars permit me to state the following circumstance:—About a week since, a person called on me, and stated that, in May, 1833, he came to my office and exchanged some money, and he thinks he received a hundred dollars more than he was entitled to, and that he called several days after to see if our cash indicated such a mistake, but that the clerk did not ascertain certainly that this was the case. He hesitated some about returning it, and yet felt unwilling to retain it. I inquired if under the circumstances he would feel satisfied to have the amount presented to the Colonization Society, to which he replied yes. This therefore, is cheerfully given in the hope that it may aid the good cause in which your society is engaged.

I am yours,

RUFUS L. NEVINS.

#### COLONIZATION SOCIETY IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

At a meeting of the Board of Managers, held July 22,

It was resolved, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and ascertain what free persons of color sustained injury in their persons or property during the late riots in this city, with power to collect subscriptions for their benefit, and apply the same to their relief.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

*To the American Colonization Society in the month of September, 1834.*

*Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.*

John S. Walton, New Orleans,	-	-	-	100
<i>Collections from Churches.</i>				
Accomac and Northampton counties, Va.—from three Methodist Episcopal congregations, received from James A. Massey,	-	-	-	\$8 65
Do from Mr. Massey and another friend,	-	-	-	1 35
Alexandria, at the 1st Presbyterian church, by Rev. Elias Harrison,	-	-	-	15 5
do at the 2nd do	-	-	-	6 5
do at the Baptist church, by Rev. S. Cornelius,	-	-	-	3 25
Bath, New Hampshire, by Rev. D. Sutherland,	-	-	-	5
Belmont county, Ohio, Crab Apple Congregation, by Rev. J. Coon,	-	-	-	12 51
Creagerstown, Maryland, by Mr. Mettane,	-	-	-	2 50
Cross Creek, Jefferson county, Ohio, St. James's church, by Rev. J. Morse,	-	-	-	5
Danby, Tompkins county, N. Y. New Jerusalem church, by Rev. Lewis Beers,	-	-	-	6
*Indianapolis, Presbyterian church, by Rev. W. A. Halliday,	-	-	-	20 81
do Methodist do by Rev. Calvin Ruter,	-	-	-	15 2
Lawrence Presbyterian church, by Rev. Henry Axtell,	-	-	-	8 50
Lebanon, Alleghany county, Pa. Presbyterian church, by Rev. T. D. Baird,	-	-	-	5
Lee, Massachusetts, in Rev. Joshua N. Danforth's church,	-	-	-	25
Maryland, by Rev. William Matchett,	-	-	-	30
Mount Pleasant, Westmoreland, by Rev. A. O. Patterson,	-	-	-	10
New Hackensack, N. Y. Reformed Dutch church, by Rev. C. Van Cleef,	-	-	-	16
Norfolk, in the Presbyterian church,	-	-	-	65 90
Petersburg, in the Methodist do, 1833,	-	-	-	20
Richland, Pa. by Rev. John Glenn,	-	-	-	5
Sawickly congregation, Pa. by Rev. A. O. Patterson,	-	-	-	7 50
Slippery Rock, Pa. congregation, do do	-	-	-	5
Trenton, N. J.—in the Methodist Episcopal Church, by Rev. T. J. Thompson,	-	-	-	7
Windham, Ohio, by Rev. Wm. Hanford,	-	-	-	6
Winchester, at the Episcopal Church, by Rev. James Jackson,	-	-	-	12 67
Xenia, Ohio, in the congregation of Rev. Andrew W. Poage,	-	-	-	13
—, —, in the Associate congregation of Rev. Andrew Herron,	-	-	-	7

*Donation.*

From Miss E. R. Winter, Alexandria,	-	-	-	2
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*Auxiliary Societies.*

Indiana Colonization Society,	-	-	-	4 17
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Xenia Female do, by Miss Mary Martin, Treasurer,	-	-	-	60
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† In the receipts from Auxiliary Societies, published in the August No. of the Repository, for "Crawford county, Va. \$30," read "Crawford county, Pennsylvania, \$30."

*African Repository.*

Allen Leeper, Farmington, Tenn. per H. D. King,	-	-	-	5
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C. Goodrich,	-	-	-	2 50
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Collections made in Ohio, last year, by the Rev. F. W. Thomas, Agent, not before acknowledged :

September 23,	At a meeting in Dr. Beecher's Presbyterian church,	-	-	15 1
October 1,	After delivering a Literary Lecture,	-	-	14
11,	At a meeting in Lebanon, \$5—17th & 20th, in Dayton, \$27 43,	-	-	32 43
25,	Received from Rev. Franklin Putnam, of the Presbyterian church, for a 4th July collection,	-	-	15
	do from Dayton Juvenile Colonization Society,	-	-	5
23,	At a meeting at Zanesville,	-	-	15
November 5,	At do at Springfield,	-	-	13 75
	Donation from E. H. Cumming,	-	-	1
	From Rev. J. S. Galloway, Pres'n church, for 4th July coll'n,	-	-	5 80
9 & 11,	At a meeting in the Methodist church at Urbana,	-	-	15 16
	From the members of a new Auxiliary Society,	-	-	7 25
	From Adam Musgrove, Tr. of the old do, a balance on hand of	-	-	17
	After an Address in the State-House at Columbus,	-	-	19
	In hopes of raising funds for the Society, Mr. T. announced a course of Literary Lectures, and obtained 35 names at \$1 each, which he delivered,	-	-	35
	Mr. T. received the following sums, 4th of July collections:	-	-	
	Rev. J. Wilson, Cincinnati,	-	-	11 50
	Andrew S. Morrison, Unity church,	-	-	2 75
	From the same at Palmyra, \$2 75—from the same \$3 61,	-	-	11 36

\*\* The same gentlemen collected at these churches last year \$75, which was acknowledged in the Repository, as received in a draft from Isaac Coe, without any other specification.

THE  
AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND  
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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Vol. X:]      **NOVEMBER, 1834.**      [No. 9.

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REVIEW.

*A Letter from JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq. to the REV. THORNTON J. MILLS, Corresponding Secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, dated Mercer County, Ky. July 15, 1834.*

THE readers of the African Repository have had an opportunity of perusing, in several of the numbers for the past and the present year, some letters, originally published, we believe, in the Huntsville (Ala.) Democrat, from the pen of Mr. JAMES G. BIRNEY. This gentleman was recently Agent of the American Colonization Society for the south-western district, composed of the States of Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, and the territory of Arkansas; and the object of those letters was to vindicate, by making more fully known, the principles and course of the Society. Though not concurring in all the views taken by the writer, we were not deterred by that consideration from copying his essays into the Repository; and he may feel assured, that the suspension of their republication after the seventh number proceeded only from the casual loss of the subsequent letters. Should he be able to supply them, it will give us pleasure to complete the series, though, perhaps, at the risk of renewed censure from intelligent friends who had objected to some passages of the republished numbers, as having a *pro-slavery* tendency. It was our design, should we recover the missing numbers, to accompany the translation of them to this Journal, with an attempted defence against that imputation. Our anxiety on the subject, was soon, however, interrupted most unexpectedly by rumours that the party for whom we were meditating an apology had surrendered to his assailants, and was about to fulminate from their camp charges against the Colonization Society, similar to those which had been made against himself. The flourishes with which the organs of Immediate Abolition announced, in advance, Mr. BIRNEY's abjurement of the Colonization cause, were in due season followed by the appearance of the letter, of which the title is given at the head of this article. Instead, therefore, of defending the officer of the Society against his adversaries, we are placed in the sudden necessity of defending the Society against the Parthian warfare of the fugitive officer.

This task is undertaken with a strong feeling of regret, at the loss which the cause of Colonization has sustained in the desertion of an adherent conspicuous for official zeal and diligence, and enjoying a high reputation for his literary attainments, moral respectability and ardent piety. Such incidents, however, though painful, are not discouraging. The excellence of the cause will, as it has heretofore done, raise up for itself new supporters; and in the retirement of one champion from its defence, its constant friends will recognise a fresh motive for perseverance and energy on their parts.

As it was scarcely six months before the date of Mr. Birney's letter, when the Kentucky Auxiliary elected him one of its Vice-Presidents, without, it would seem, any whisper from him, that the honour was inappropriate, Mr. Mills, unless more than ordinarily penetrated with the truth of the wise man's saying—"there is no new thing under the sun"—must have started with surprise at the first tidings of the new functionary's new movement. This emotion was probably even more lively in the breasts of such friends of the Society, as knew that so lately as last fall, when Mr. B. informed the Parent Board that his intended change of residence would close his Agency for the south-western district, the information was coupled with professions of undiminished zeal for the Colonization cause, with pledges of future service, and with an intimation of his willingness to accept an Agency for Kentucky. That the Managers did not act on this suggestion, was owing, it is presumed, to the fact, that their interests in Kentucky were then in charge with another gentleman.—They received, during the winter, fresh assurance from Mr. B. of his continued attachment.

The suspicion excited by the suddenness of Mr. Birney's conversion, that it proceeded rather from some mystical *afflatus*, than from full reflection, is not removed by the apparent elaboration of his manifesto. For though this paper reaches the formidable length of some 15 or 20 columns of the *Liberator*, much of it will be found to be, not the result of original reasoning, but the accumulation of trite commonplaces against Colonization; in collecting which, a sharp pair of scissors was quite as important as a sharp intellect. Long as the manifesto is, the reader will be dismayed to learn that it contains only "some of the reasons which have persuaded" the writer to abandon the Colonization Society. Possibly, when the reserved reasons shall be forthcoming, some indications may be seen in them of the "unequalled force of logic," which the Secretary of an Anti-Slavery Society facetiously ascribes to the reasons which are proclaimed. On these, it is our purpose now to submit some observations.

After an introductory account of his early impressions concerning the Colonization Scheme, and of his exertions as Agent of the Society for the south-western district, Mr. Birney notices the formation, through his instrumentality, and that of Mr. Polk, of an Auxiliary Society at Huntsville:

"This," he adds, "was the first instance of direct action in the South, for the benefit of any part of the coloured population; of which I then had a personal knowledge. I was greatly encouraged at the favorable aspect of things on this, the first trial, for it was made in a town where, considering its size, there is unusual concentration, of intelligence, and in the very midst of a population numbering a majority of blacks. At that time, I believed there was in the project so much of a vivifying spirit, that to ensure success, it was only necessary for the people of the South *once* to become interested in it: that there was in it so much of the energy of life, that it required nothing more than *once* to be set on foot to put beyond all question its continuance and growth. As auxiliary to the impulses of benevolence, I calculated upon the *selfish* advantages to the South. These, I thought, could be so clearly and powerfully exhibited, that there would be none to gainsay or resist, and that, by the union of benevolence and selfishness, the co-operation of the whole South might be secured. I unhesitatingly declare, that the total incongruity of these two principles did not strike my mind as it has done, since I witnessed their dissociable and mutu-

ally destructive energy. Of the truth of this remark, the Huntsville Society will furnish good evidence, for notwithstanding its auspicious beginning, and the excitement of eloquent and animating addresses delivered, at different times, by gentlemen of distinguished ability, it never was efficient, its excitability wore away as it advanced in age, and it protracted a languishing existence until last autumn, when, I apprehend, it terminated its being, except in name."

The legitimate use of the fact, that the formation of a Colonization Society at Huntsville was the first instance, within Mr. Birney's knowledge, of "direct action in the South, for the benefit of any part of the coloured population," would be to infer from that fact, the peculiar tendency of the Society to waken public attention to the interests of the coloured people. In this effort, it seems that Mr. B. relied, "as auxiliary to the impulses of benevolence," on "the selfish advantages to the South"—a reliance which he has since found reason to condemn. His present opinion appears to be that the Colonization Society cannot be a scheme at once benevolent to the coloured people, and conducive to the interests of the whites at the South; he having recently discovered a "total incongruity" between the two principles! He even thinks this truth to be so obvious, as to require from him an apology for his not having formerly perceived it. "I UNHESITATINGLY DECLARE, that the total incongruity of these two principles did not strike my mind, as it has done, since I witnessed their dissociable, and mutually destructive energy." Now, we submit, that it is by no means wonderful that this imputed incongruity did not strike Mr. Birney's mind sooner. The wonder is, that it ever struck his mind at all, or the mind of any man. Reflecting persons have generally supposed that a plan may be based on the strongest foundations of duty, and be animated by the most enlarged principles of philanthropy, and yet promise advantages, on the score of individual interests, which its advocate would be not only justifiable for pressing, but inexcusable for omitting. Nay, on a subject, in comparison with which all matters of merely human concernment are but trifles, appeals to subordinate interests have been regarded as appropriate. The Ministers of our Holy Religion, not content with urging its high sanctions as a Revelation from the Almighty, announcing His will, and demanding the obedience of His creatures, habitually enforce the consideration, that man's temporal happiness is best subserved by his conformity with the rule of life which that Revelation prescribes. These pious men are now to be told, that there is a "total incongruity" between the spiritual character of the Gospel, and its capacity to confer "selfish advantages" on man. It must be noted, that in using the latter topic they are careful not to invest it with an importance disproportioned to that of the main argument. A similar caution is incumbent on the advocates of any inferior system, recommended on the one hand by its benevolence, and on the other by its utility. If, in pleading for Colonization, Mr. Birney dwelt exclusively or too fondly on its "selfish advantages," this was an error of his own, which it is not very gracious in him to make now an article of his impeachment against the Society.

If this gentleman's theory of the "total incongruity, &c." be strange, the illustration of it, which he complacently calls "evidence," is not less so. What is it? Why, that an Auxiliary Colonization Society was dissolved last autumn. This may show that the Auxiliary had what Mr. B. calls a "dissociable energy," but it no more proves his assumption, than the death of an individual proves a "total incongruity" between his intellectual and his animal nature. Mr. B. seems himself to suspect the inadequacy of this illustration to the purpose of its adduction, and even to forget, in a few moments, that he had such a purpose in view: for in the next paragraph but one, he says:

"I mention the institution of the Society at Huntsville and its decline, not for the purpose of giving its history as a matter of interest in itself, nor solely with the view of showing my friendly disposition towards Colonization, but as an instance, (to which the condition of the others mentioned, as well as that of all the smaller Societies throughout the region in which I acted, might be added,) falling under my own observation that every day's experience is making more palpable to my mind, that there is not in Colonization any principle, or quality, or constituent substance, fitted so to tell upon the hearts and minds of men as to ensure continued and persevering action. If there be the connection supposed, between the facts introduced above and the proposition just stated, may I not ask you, sir, if the little that has been done for Colonization by our own State, where years ago it was welcomed with open arms, and within whose limits I could not state from personal knowledge that it has a single enemy, and the present crippled and unmoving condition of the numerous Societies, auxiliary to that whose correspondence you so ably conduct, do not furnish testimony very powerful if not irresistible, that the whole matter has not in it any principle exciting to *strenuous—to continuous* action."

The case of the Huntsville Society seems as little likely to promote the object for which it is here brought forward, as it was to prove the dogma of the "total incongruity." The revised motive for the reference to it, is to show, "*that there is not in Colonization any principle, or quality, or constituent substance, fitted so to tell upon the hearts or minds of men, as to ensure continued and persevering action;*" or, in other words, that the vicissitudes of an Auxiliary Society prove the system of which it is a part, to be unsound and desperate. If this be "logic" at all, it may readily be admitted to be "unequalled." The corollary is, that the hopelessness of the Colonization Society being thus demonstrated, its friends ought to abandon it. Is it then true, that no scheme, however redundant of promised benefits and blessings, can ultimately prosper, because it sustains occasional disasters? It is well that this timid philosophy was unknown to Columbus, when ignorance and prejudice opposed his plan for discovering a world; or to the colonizers of Jamestown, so often suffering under aggravated calamities, and so nearly their victim; or, to cite a loftier example, to the early Missionaries of the Cross, when principalities and powers sought to trample on them: and that it has not chilled those countless plans of benevolence which characterize our own day and generation. Justice, as well as sound philosophy, prescribes a test for trying any project, very different from that of its partial unpopularity. Both require that if on fair and full examination it appear worthy of acceptance, its friends should find in its adversity an added stimulus to "*strenuous—to continued* action."

But, on this topic, we not only reject Mr. Birney's reasoning, but we deny his facts. Without expressly affirming, he leaves it to be plainly inferred, that the cause of Colonization is weaker now than it was at its inception. That it is vehemently denounced in various quarters, is admitted. But this very circumstance has induced an investigation of its principles, and a comparison of it with other projects for meliorating the condition of the African race; and the result, by throwing into bright contrast its practical, peaceful and constitutional character, has acquired for it a popularity too solid to be shaken by occasional misfortunes, by the vituperation of foes or the infidelity of friends. If Auxiliary Societies have gone down in one place, they have risen up in another; if prominent individuals, who had embraced it under erroneous views, have since forsaken it, other individuals equally prominent, whom prejudice had estranged from it, have, on farther observation, cast away that prejudice, and are now its zealous supporters; the torpor of the public mind on the subject has been roused by discussion, and discussion has in the general result, increased and confirmed the claims of our cause on public confidence. As the alleged unpopularity of the colonizing system seems to have weighed heavily with Mr. Birney, it might perhaps be advisable for him to re-examine his con-

clusions on that point. It is not easy to reconcile them with his subsequent complaint, that the "Colonization Society has succeeded in bringing around it the learned, the religious, the influential;" and that "by the multiplied resolutions of favoring legislatures, of ecclesiastical bodies, with their hundred conventions, assemblies, conferences and associations, it has so far exalted itself into the high places of public sentiment, as itself to constitute public sentiment." But this is not, as will be seen in the sequel, the only instance in which the "unequalled force" of Mr. Birney's logic is directed against his own arguments.

The compliments of intelligent prints to the moderation of this gentleman's language in the letter under review, had prepared us to find him free from the error so common with converts, of vilifying their forsaken faith; and we felt quite sure that good taste would prevent him from reproaching his former associates. These agreeable impressions were strengthened by the just tribute to their motives, contained in the following paragraph :

"In stating the objections which exist in my mind to Colonization, I wish to be understood distinctly at the outset, that I do not, in the slightest degree, impute to the benevolent individuals by whom it was originated, or even to a large majority of those by whom it is still warmly cherished, any unworthy motive as prompting their zeal. Whilst I cheerfully attribute to this majority stainless purity of motive in what they have done and are doing; and further, a strong persuasion that it is the only means of rescue from the polluting and crushing folds of slavery; I should be insincere, were I not to state my belief that Colonization, if not supported, is not objected to, by many a keen-sighted slaveholder in the abstract, who has perspicacity enough to discern that the dark system in which he has involved himself, his posterity and their interests, will remain as unadected by it as mid-ocean by the discharge of a pop gun on the beach.

"Nor do I intend to be understood, as making any objection to the purpose of the American Colonization Society, as expressed in its constitution, "to promote a plan for colonizing (*with their consent*) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress may deem most expedient." If its operations be limited to the gratification of an intelligent wish on the part of the free people of colour, or any other class of our population, to remove to Africa, with the view of establishing a colony for the prosecution of an honest commerce, or for any lawful purpose whatever, there could exist, so far as I could see, no reasonable ground of opposition, any more than to the migration, that is now in progress, of crowds of our fellow citizens to Texas, or any other part of Mexico."

Alas! immediately after the foregoing passages, in which "*a stainless purity of motive*" is so emphatically ascribed to "*a large majority*" of the friends of Colonization, comes the subjoined description of that very majority :

"If on the other hand, it is meant that this "*consent*" may be lawfully obtained by the imposition of civil disabilities, disfranchisement, exclusion from sympathy; by making the free colored man the victim of a relentless proscription, prejudice and scorn; by rejecting altogether his oath in courts of justice, thus leaving his property, his person, his wife, his children, and all that God has by his very constitution made dear to him, unprotected from the outrage and insult of every unfeeling tyrant, it becomes a solemn farce, it is the refinement of inhumanity, a mockery of all mercy, it is cruel, unmanly, and meriting the just indignation of every American, and the noble nation that bears his name. To say, that the "*consent*" thus extorted is the *approbation of the mind*, is as preposterous as to affirm that a man *consents* to surrender his purse, on the condition that you spare his life, or, to be transported to Botany Bay, when the hand of despotism is ready to stab him to the heart.

"Now, if the Colonization Society has done—is doing this; if it has succeeded in bringing around it the learned, the religious, the influential; if by the multiplied resolutions of favoring legislatures, of ecclesiastical bodies, with their hundred conventions, assemblies, conferences, and associations, it has so far exalted itself into the high places of public sentiment, as itself to constitute public sentiment; if it has acquired great authority over the mind of this people, and uses it to encourage and not to check this fearless and grinding oppression; if, instead of pleading for mercy to the weak and helpless, it sanctions the most open and crushing injustice, or even connives at it, by urging the necessity of Colonization upon the alleged ground of the immutability of the state of things, for the perpetua-

tion of which it is lending all its influence; if, I say, it has done this, its unsoundness, its foulness cannot be too soon, or too fully exposed, that the just sentence of condemnation may be passed upon it by every good man and patriot of the land."

The crimination of the Colonization Society conveyed in the passages just cited, is not mitigated by the conditional form of the charges. Indeed, even this thin veil is removed by the very next sentence—"when, *also*, in the progress of its developement, it *throws itself before the public*, as the only effectual and appropriate remedy for slavery"—which attaches its declarative character to the preceding sentences in the connexion. Let us strip, then, the accusation of the machinery of '*ifs*,' with which the author,

"Willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike,"

has encumbered it, and let us demand his evidence. Where is his proof that the Colonization Society means "*force*," when it says "*consent*?"—that it makes "*the coloured man the victim of a relentless proscription, prejudice and scorn*?"—that it is "*a solemn farce*," "*the refinement of inhumanity, a mockery of all mercy*?"—"that it is *cruel, unmanly, and meriting the just indignation of every American*?"—that it encourages "*heartless and grinding oppression*?"—that it "*sanctions the most open and crushing injustice*"—and that "*its unsoundness, its foulness, cannot be too soon or too fully exposed, that the just sentence of condemnation may be passed upon it by every good man and patriot of the land*!"

Such is the charge of combined duplicity, cruelty and malignity, brought against a respectable association, by an accuser whose lips were almost warm with vows of affection for it! "We believe," says the Editor of the New York Observer, "with Mr. Birney in his first paragraph, that a large majority of the supporters of Colonization, are men of stainless purity of motive, and *therefore* we say, if any man charges them with encouraging or conniving at the oppression of the blacks, he is a false accuser of his brethren."

If an accusation, so monstrous and so utterly unsustained by proof, as that made by Mr. Birney, deserved a formal reply, we should probably construct one out of the following considerations:—The Colonization Society invited public favor to an enterprise which is exactly defined in its Constitution, viz. "The object to which its attention is to be *exclusively* directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their own consent,) the Free People of colour, residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient." The Society found these ill-fated persons living in the midst of a community, from whose political privileges they were entirely debarred, in whose civil rights they only partially participated, and in relation to whose social condition their own was that of a separate and inferior caste: Laws existed, placing them under various disabilities of greater or less severity, and similar laws were afterwards passed: But all these enactments were made by authority of which the competency for the object had been solemnly recognised by the American Constitution, and was beyond controversy: To prosecute a system of denunciation against these laws, and thereby foment dissensions in the States enacting them, would have been a course on the part of the members of the Colonization Society, inconsistent with their duties as citizens of the American Confederacy: Such a course would, moreover, have induced increased severities towards the free people of colour, as has since been shown in the effect of similar indiscretions in other quarters on State legislation on this subject: No practical mode could be devised for elevating those persons to a political equality with the whites, so long as the social inequality of the two races should continue: Nor could this social inequality be removed except by physi-

cal amalgamation,—a result forbidden by invincible objections: The Colonization Society witnessing this state of things and the consequent evils, and aware of its own inability to remove them, offered its aid to the practicable object of removing the sufferers under them: The terms of the removal were an exchange of "civil disabilities," "disfranchisement" and "exclusion from sympathy," for the plenary enjoyment of civil and political liberty, elevation of character, and advancement in the scale of social being.

After the fierce introduction on which we have been remarking, Mr. Birney classifies his objections to Colonization, under the following general heads:—1. *The practical influence of Colonization upon the whites;* 2. *Upon the coloured population;* and 3. *Upon Africa;* which principal topics are, of course, divided into a goodly number of subordinate heads.

The discussion of the first of these grand divisions, commences with the following postulate:

"All great revolutions of sentiment in masses of men, calling, of course, for a corresponding change of action, must lay their foundation in some great principle (or principles,) undeniably true in theory; which all the facts pertaining to it, when taken singly, tend to prove, and taken together, fully establish as true, to all unprejudiced minds."

This theory is then elongated into several ramifications, theological, moral and political, of which we shall notice the last, as illustrating the inaptitude of the writer's course of reasoning to practical subjects:

"What," he asks, "was the great truth, or principle, upon which the American revolution was supported? Was it any other than this, that all men were created equal? This was the trunk throwing out towards heaven its noble branches, 'that they are endowed by their Creator with the unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'—You, I am sure, sir, do not believe that this principle, had it suffered the least adulteration, would have been sufficiently vivifying to produce the great revolution that it did produce in our condition, &c."

Can it be possible, that so intelligent a man as Mr. Birney really believes that the American Revolution was produced by the "great truth" which he refers to, or by any other abstract principle? Why, even the school histories of that great event would inform him, that Great Britain and her colonies no more went to war for a disagreement about the natural equality of mankind, than they did to settle the question of the Longitude. The principle cited is indeed announced in our Declaration of Independence, and, properly understood, deserves the name of a "great truth;" but that celebrated paper goes on to assign specific, *practical* causes for the war of Independence. It was the influence of these causes which incited our ancestors to commence and to continue the struggle which they so gloriously terminated. There have indeed been political revolutions abounding at every turn in announcements of abstractions; but the result has not said much for either the efficacy of those instruments, or the wisdom of using them. Such commotions have generally had for their object, not the restoration of Government to its true principles, but the disorganization of society, the triumph of anarchy, and the aggrandizement of bad men, whose professions of zeal for human rights were loud in proportion to their own reckless audacity injustice.

If a careful compiler were to collect together the political and moral dogmas spread over the speeches and publications of the chief actors in the old French Revolution, he would find a sufficient number of really "great truths," (mixed, indeed, with a multitude of absurdities,) to have conducted, on Mr. Birney's notion, fifty revolutions to an issue fortunate as that of our own. Yet, we all know through what paths of crime the

French Revolution proceeded, and in what bitter mockery of its "great truths" it closed. One of the "great truths" of that mournful era, as well as of the American Declaration of Independence, was the natural equality of mankind. It would be quite as fair to ascribe to a principle which Mr. Birney deems so energetic, the failure of the French Revolution, as the success of our own. His new allies produce "great principles," if they produce nothing else, in behalf of the coloured people, as fast as the Abbe Sieyes wrote Constitutions; and with as little advantage to those for whom they are volunteered.

Mr. B. proposes to apply his theory of "great principles" to the purpose of showing "that the principles on which Colonization is recommended to the nation, are *unsound, imperfect and repugnant*;" (Query: *Repugnant to what?*) and after engrafting on the theory a scion of metaphysics, avers that the following are mainly "the grounds upon which Colonization has asked for favor from the people of the United States," viz.

"1. That slavery, *as it is*, in our country, is *justifiable*, or that *immediate* emancipation is out of the question. 2. That the free coloured people are, of all classes in the community, the most annoying to us; the most hopeless, degraded, vicious and unhappy, and that, therefore—3. We ought in the exercise of a sound policy for ourselves and from sympathy with these people, to remove them to Africa, where the causes of their degradation, vice and misery will not follow them. 4. That we shall, in sending them to Liberia, by their instrumentality in civilizing and christianizing Africa, pay in some measure the debt we owe to that continent for the mighty trespass we have committed upon her."

"Here," says our author, "we see a strange mixture of *true* principles, with others that are utterly *false*." It may be wished that he had produced his authority for ascribing this quadruple argument to the friends of Colonization; and that he had more precisely stated the first branch of it.—When he declares that it has been contended on behalf of the Colonization Society "that slavery, as it is, in our country, is justifiable, or that immediate emancipation is out of the question," he leaves the reader to doubt whether the identity of these two propositions was asserted by the unnamed advocate of the Society, or is only assumed by his commentator; and, on the supposition that only one of the propositions had been urged for the Society, which one that was. Such unexactness in a professed logician, is not a little remarkable. Until the doubts just mentioned shall have been solved, the defence of the Society on this head, cannot be understandingly made. Meanwhile, the wish may be expressed, that no authorized Agent of the American Colonization Society has so far transcended his own duty, and the constitutional design of that association, as to implicate its claims to public confidence with a defence of slavery. The Society proposes to provide a remedy for an existing state of things; and not to diverge into controversies about the justice or injustice belonging to that state of things.

The want of precision characterizing the first, may be objected also to the last of Mr. Birney's specifications: "That we shall, in sending them" [i. e. the free coloured people] "to Liberia, by their instrumentality in civilizing and Christianizing Africa, pay in some measure the debt we owe to that continent for the *mighty trespass we have committed against her*."—The friends of the Colonizing scheme are here confounded with the authors of injuries to Africa, committed centuries ago. Now, the Colonization Society is the child of the present generation—a generation conspicuous for its zeal against the slave trade. This is, in truth, a "mighty trespass;" but one for which the present age is not a whit more responsible than for the rebellion of the arch fiend against Heaven; though every individual of it is responsible, and heavily too, for neglecting the duty of endeavouring to repair the wrongs committed by his ancestors against Af-

rica. And the tendency of the colonizing scheme to this object, is precisely one of the great benefits on which its friends have insisted. The confusion of the *guilt* of introducing slavery into the United States, with the *misfortune* of co-existing there with it, is an anachronism which the attentive reader of Mr. Birney's letter will find to be one of the staples of that composition. In justice to him it should, however, be remarked, that the discrimination on this subject which truth and fair reasoning require to be made, would have been fatal to the larger portion of his argument.

The ancient historians used to animate their writings by speeches put into the mouths of distinguished individuals. Mr. Birney has improved upon the models made familiar to him by his classical studies. He gives us a speech, generated by another speech to which the orator had been listening, and of which this fortunate circumstance has left the only trace. It seems that some slaveholder, after hearing "one of our most ingenious and eloquent Colonization speeches," uttered a soliloquy, which Mr. B. has taken the pains to report. If the report be accurate, the Colonization speech would seem to have been made up of arguments intended to determine the slaveholder *against* the plan proposed by the Society. It is at least difficult to imagine arguments better calculated to produce that effect: and it is certain that those which were used exactly so operated; for the soliloquy ends with the declaration, "I will let alone the whole matter."

This was, surely, a strange course of reasoning for an advocate of Colonization; and the curiosity may be pardoned which inquires when, where, and by whom, a Colonization address was pronounced, that could possibly have occasioned the soliloquy of Mr. Birney's slaveholder. As Mr. B. was probably more familiar with his own speeches than with any other in favor of Colonization, one of these may have been his foundation for the monologue. Now, if Mr. B. ever made so extraordinary a speech, it needs only to be said that he made it on his own responsibility; and that he does wisely in replying to himself as soon as possible. But, from the reply might well have been spared the Freshman sophistry of the note to this part of his epistle.

The reader is next entertained with a new category of "Ifs," of the same family with that of their predecessors, and ending with an interrogative invocation to, the American public to abandon the Colonization Society, "so injurious to us as a people, and to the cause of humanity and freedom throughout the world." Then follow some reasons "for the apparent permanency of slavery, anterior to the direct efforts made in the last two or three years to overthrow it;" the chief of which reasons is the justification of slavery, before imputed by the writer to the Colonization Society. To this he ascribes what he calls "the alleged melioration of slavery in many parts of the country."

After the insinuated opinion that the "*direct efforts*" alluded to for overthrowing slavery, have tended to promote that purpose, the mind which can so far mistake the "signs of the times," and the connexion between causes and effects, may be excused for the logic which ascribes "the alleged melioration of slavery" to the doctrine that slavery is justifiable.

Mr. Birney assumes that "slavery, as a system, is, to all appearance, more confirmed among us than it was 15 or 18 years ago;" and charges the Colonization Society with having produced this state of things. Both the assumption and the imputation are gratuitous. Mr. B. cites precedents of slavery abolished in other countries, under circumstances so different from our own, as to render those precedents inapplicable. He talks of the continuance of slavery in the District of Columbia, where Congress holds exclusive jurisdiction; of the purchase and sale of slaves there; and of advertisements in the newspapers on the subject of that traffic. The forbear-

ance of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, may be supposed to result so directly from the considerations, which, when the Federal Constitution was formed, induced the recognition of slavery in the parts of the Confederacy where it then existed, that we are not prepared to infer from such forbearance, that "slavery, as a system, is," either really or "to all appearance, more confirmed among us than it was 15 or 18 years ago." On the contrary, powerful evidence exists that the very reverse of this proposition is true. Has Mr. Birney forgotten the recent decided proceedings in Maryland against slavery? or the discussions on that subject in the Legislature of Virginia? or the institution of a Society which he contributed to form in Kentucky, the place of his present residence, for liberating the future offspring of slaves? or the numerous manumissions which, within the period indicated, have been made in the States just mentioned, and in other States? or the awakened attention to the moral and religious improvement of slaves which is signal in many of the States where they are held?

But, even were there any ground for the alleged confirmation of slavery as a system, the accuser has utterly failed in the effort to make the Colonization Society responsible for it. Slaves were bought and sold in the District of Columbia;\* the wishes of buyers and sellers were made known through the newspapers; and the revolting practices which he enumerates existed long before the establishment of that Institution. He cannot, therefore, it may be presumed, (though we speak doubtingly) mean to charge the Society with producing that state of things; but such a charge would be quite as reasonable as the attempt to fix on the Society the cause of its continuance. That the friends of Colonization have ever *directly* advocated the permanence of slavery, Mr. Birney, intrepid as he is in crimination, does not pretend. And his charge that they have indirectly done so, is sustained only by licentious assumptions, a "straining to find the connexion between cause and effect," of which he seems half-conscious; and a forced juxtaposition of "disso-ciable" circumstances. A sufficient answer to them, were any needed, would be his subsequent admission, (which, by the way, is short of the truth), that the incidental operation of the Colonization scheme has been the manumission of eight or nine hundred slaves, for emigration to Africa; and numerous other emancipations, in cases "where the beneficiaries have not been sent out of the country." He professes indeed to think that the Colonization principles deserve as little credit for the latter class of emancipations, as the infidel does for Christianizing a man, whom his arguments against religion had first led to reflect on its importance. As the infidel reasoned in favor of infidelity, the illustration ought to have shown that the friends of Colonization reasoned in favor of perpetual slavery; and by not showing this, it shows nothing. Now, there is no example of such an argument in support of Colonization, except the apocryphal case of the mysterious orator who set the slaveholder on soliloquizing. Though the question of slavery is one with which the Colonization Society has no direct or Constitutional concern, the opportunity which that society affords for safe manumission, has undoubtedly shaken slavery as a system; and will

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\* It is remarkable that Mr. Jefferson, of whom Mr. Birney, in a subsequent part of his letter, declares, that he "*was but a little distance in the rear of the abolitionists of the present day,*" and that "wherever, human liberty or national justice was restrained, he was the friend and advocate of all from whom it was withheld, be they *white, or red, or black;*" in a letter to Mr. John Holmes, dated April 20, 1820, holds the following language, in relation to what Mr. B. calls the "slave trade by sea and land, to our Southern ports," viz: "Of one thing I am certain; that as the passage of slaves from one State to another, would not make a slave of a single human being who would not be so without it; so their diffusion over a greater surface would make them individually happier, and *proportionally facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation*, by dividing the burden on a greater number of co-adjutors."—[*Jefferson's Works*, Vol. 4, p. 324.

we trust, continue to do so, in despite of the counteracting influence exerted on the slaveholder by ill-judged and libellous denunciations of him from quarters where exclusive friendship to the coloured race is pretended.

Mr. Birney affects to show that "the appropriate tendency" of the Colonization doctrines "is to excite a malignant and persecuting spirit against the free coloured people, and more vigorous enactments against the slave." Then comes another of his favourite "*Is's*," and a resulting charge of "a shameful lack of magnanimity and manhood." After some grandiloquent declamation, with occasional spangles from the tragedy of Hamlet, he produces what he oddly enough calls his "proof." This is to be found, he says, in "the laws of nearly all the slave states. Take for specimens a few. I have seen the son of a white woman sold into perpetual slavery by the Commonwealth of Virginia—attempting to regain by legal process in a distant State his long lost liberty." A specimen indeed! Mr. Birney ought to have known that by the laws of Virginia, "the son of a white woman" is *free*, and of course cannot be legally sold as a slave. In the case cited, the evidence must have been that the mother of the party was a slave, and of course *not* a white woman. If the statement made to Mr. B. is true, the evidence must have been false. But it is a new principle of political ethics to denounce a law because in a particular case arising under it, false testimony was given.

The other "specimens" of laws affecting the coloured people, are presented in a shape which effectually shields from examination the argument of which they are the basis.\* Nothing is said of the places and periods of their enactment; the doubt is permitted, whether the severest of them were passed in States friendly or inimical to the Colonization Society; and yet it is accused, in connexion with those laws, of malignity and persecution! The omission of details so material to the charge deprive it of any title to notice, except as a "specimen" of Anti-Colonization fairness. But wherever, and at whatever times, the obnoxious laws were respectively enacted, Mr. B. has failed, nay, he has scarcely pretended, to prove that the Society had any agency or influence in procuring, or could have successfully exerted any to prevent, their adoption; even conceding for the moment, that its interference would have been proper. He has equally failed to show that the existence of such laws offers no argument for the removal of the free coloured people from the sphere of their operation. Little can be said for either the wisdom or the benevolence of the objection, which censures the effort to do prompt though only partial good, because a more plenary benefit is believed to be not immediately attainable.

Besides the laws of the slaveholding states referred to by Mr. Birney, there is another circumstance incident to the condition of our coloured population, which deserved his attention. We mean their social proscription in the non-slaveholding States; which is so aggravated, that even in instances where their political rights are equal to those of the whites, these rights are reduced by conventional prejudices to an empty name. Intelligent persons among them living at the North, have admitted that when travelling at the South they have been treated with more consideration than at home. Whatever may be the reason, the fact is incontestable, that in the States in which the two races approach a political equality, the prejudice of colour is more deeply and vigilantly cherished by the whites, than in the States in which their superiority is recognised by law.

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\* Of one class of the laws complained of in Mr. Birney's letter, Dr. MEADE, assistant Bishop of Virginia, in a letter to Mr. Elliott Cresson, says with striking truth, "the laws enacted in some Slave States against manumission, or requiring the manumitted to leave those States, sufficiently prove the existence of the feeling which lead to emancipation."—[*African Repository*, Vol. 8, p. 87.]

In one of the ramifications of Mr. Birney's manifesto, he undertakes to say, that "Colonization principles have in a great degree paralyzed the power of the *truth*, and of the ministry at the South." Having, we suppose, before proved to his own satisfaction the first part of this imputation, he allows the Society a breathing spell, and fastens on the ministers; who, he gives us to understand, are regarded as "*blind watchmen, dumb dogs that cannot bark, sleeping, lying down to slumber*," except, it may be hoped, some whom Mr. B. knows to be "men of the most sterling principle." The offence, it seems, of the obnoxious clergymen, is that they have married ladies who own slaves. Is Mr. B. serious in denying the rite of matrimony as between pious men and slaveholding women? This is carrying "proscription" rather far, considering his horror at alleged proscription in other quarters. To such a text the following note is appropriate:

"I have heard it stated, and have no reason to doubt the fact—that a member of a Christian church, in the State of Mississippi, was heard to say that he would be delighted at the opportunity of acting as *Executioner* to a distinguished abolitionist of New York—I if I mistake not, a member of the same church."

It is lamentable that a gentleman of Mr. Birney's standing should admit such gossip into a grave, laboured argument. The ministers of religion may however congratulate themselves that a philosopher so fond as Mr. B. of building systems on isolated examples, had not charged them as a body with thirsting for Abolition blood.

"When I assumed," says Mr. Birney, "an agency for the American Colonization Society, one of the grounds upon which I mainly rested my hopes of success was the co-operation of ministers of religion and laymen in their example of immediate emancipation and transmission of their slaves to Liberia."

Without dwelling on the reflection suggested by this extract, viewed in connexion with other parts of Mr. B's. letter, that the first practical notion of emancipation was presented to his mind by the plan of the Society, we proceed to express our great surprise that the reasonable hopes to which he adverts, appear to have been totally frustrated. We had been prepared for a very different result by the abundant and constantly increasing evidence of an inclination on the part of the slaveholder to liberate his slaves, when any admissible plan for the future disposition of them should be exhibited; and indeed by Mr. Birney's own statement, before alluded to, that a large, though by him understated, number of slaves had been manumitted and sent to Liberia.

Mr. B. persists, however, in the belief that advantage has not been taken of the "just way for Christian emancipation [which] had, in the providence of God" been opened, and invokes the reader to "hear the reasons." These are given in the form of a dialogue between an agent of the society and a Christian slaveholder; though he remarks, "I will not say that the whole of the above argument thrown for convenience into the form of a dialogue, was presented on any single occasion during my agency in the South West." The defence of the Society by Mr. Birney, is on the whole, much stronger in this effort, than in that mentioned in a former part of his letter; and it is therefore perhaps to be regretted that he did not always prefer dialogising to public speaking. He has omitted, however, one topic, of which the proper use must, we cannot but think, have been effective with the other party to the dialogue. When the Christian slaveholder objected that Liberia was unsuited to the reception of colonists on an extensive scale of emigration, why did not Mr. Birney, instead of evading the force of the objection by an irritating resort to the *argumentum ad hominem*, point out the duty of Christian slaveholders to aid the Parent Society in increasing the capacity of the colony for new accessions? An

individual who favoured manumission only as connected with colonization, might well decline to emancipate his own slaves, while he saw the ability of the Society to colonise, lagging behind the applications on their list of proposed emigrants. It has been often and in various forms proclaimed that to use, Mr. Birney's own language in this very letter, "emigrants offered themselves in greater numbers than the means of the society were competent to send out;" and that the Managers need pecuniary aid not merely for the conveyance and subsistence of the emigrant, but for raising establishments at Liberia, which they deem to be essential to his moral, social, and religious improvement. On such annunciations, an agent of less than Mr. Birney's former zeal for Colonization might surely have framed an appeal not likely to be disregarded by *Christian slaveholders*.

It may be noticed as one of many illustrations of Mr. Birney's inconsistency in reasoning, that though he had shortly before complained of laws in some slaveholding State or States prohibiting the instruction of slaves, and though in this dialogue the complaint is repeated, yet in immediate connexion with the renewal of the reproach, he exclaims, "And how great is the absurdity to educate in bonds those who are intended to be free!" If he means to abandon the complaint, and to stand by the ejaculation, he must be understood to denounce, not only in general, the instruction, whether religious or moral, of slaves, but even in cases in which the owner intends their speedy manumission. If Mr. B.'s phraseology were not rather too nervous for imitation, we might say, how great is the "*absurdity*" of making slaves free, without having used whatever time and opportunity could be obtained to qualify them by education for the fullest enjoyment of the blessings of liberty!

We come now to the second general head of Mr. Birney's letter:

"I now propose," says Mr. B., "in the second place to speak of the influence of the spirit of colonization upon the free people of color. It will be admitted, I think, by every one acquainted with its history, that it originated in feelings of kindness towards the colored people as well as in prospects of future good to the whites.\* So long ago as 1777, Mr. Jefferson proposed to the Legislature of Virginia, that all the offspring of slaves, born after that time, should be free at their birth—brought up at public expense—educated according to their geniuses, to the arts, sciences, or tillage—and furnished with every convenience for emigration to such a place as might be provided for them. MR. JEFFERSON WAS BUT A LITTLE DISTANCE IN THE REAR OF THE ABOLITIONISTS OF THE PRESENT DAY—HIS SCHEME EMBRACING AN IMMEDIATE ABROGATION OF SLAVERY, EXCEPT IN REFERENCE TO THE SLAVES THEN IN BEING; AND LEAVING EMIGRATION, AS IT WOULD SEEM RIGHT IT SHOULD BE, ENTIRELY TO THE OPTION OF THE COLORED MAN. It did not wring from the weak their "consent" to removal, by presenting the alternative of hopeless slavery on the one hand, and banishment from their native land on the other; but LEFT THEM FREE, TO CHOOSE WHETHER THEY WOULD REMAIN HERE AS FREEMEN, OR MIGRATE, IN THE SAME CHARACTER, TO ANOTHER HOME THAT WOULD PLEASE THEM BETTER. This plan, taken in connexion with Mr. Jefferson's sentiments expressed elsewhere, on the subject of slavery, leaves no doubt that the *primordia* of colonization originated in charitable feelings towards those who were suffering before his eyes: for, whatever may have been Mr. Jefferson's sentiments on other subjects, wherever human liberty or national justice was restrained, he was the friend and advocate of all from whom it was withheld, be they *white or red or black*."

The stress here laid on Mr. Jefferson's authority, has induced us to ascertain by reference to his writings the grounds of the claim that he is the parent, "*pulchrioris filia*," of modern Abolitionism, and of the assertion that his views of manumission did not involve deportation. The reader's attention is requested to the portions of the foregoing extract which we have caused to be printed in capital letters.

In the "Notes on the State of Virginia," p. 143—144, (Boston edit.

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\*The reader will recollect Mr. Birney's theory of the "*total incongruity*."—EDIT. REPOS.

1832, 18mo. p. 280.) Mr. Jefferson thus describes a part of the plan proposed in 1777 for revising the laws of that Commonwealth:

"To emancipate all slaves born after passing the Act. The bill reported by the revisors does not itself contain this proposition; but an amendment containing it was prepared, to be offered to the legislature whenever the bill should be taken up, and further directing that they should continue with their parents to a certain age, then be brought up at the public expense, to tillage, arts or sciences, according to their geniuses, till the females should be eighteen, and the males twenty-one years of age, *when they should be colonized to such place as the circumstances of the time should render most proper*, sending them out with arms, implements of household and handicraft arts, seeds, pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c., to declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection, till they have acquired strength; and to send vessels at the same time to other parts of the world for an equal number of white inhabitants; to induce whom to migrate hither, proper encouragements were to be proposed. It will probably be asked, *why not retain and incorporate the blacks into the state*, and thus save the expense of supplying by importation of white settlers the vacancies they will leave? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections by the blacks of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the *real distinctions which nature has made*; and many other circumstances will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race. To these objections, which are political, may be added others which are physical and moral."

In a letter dated January 21, 1811, to Mr. John Lynd, Mr. Jefferson says:

"You have asked my opinion on the proposition of Ann Mifflin, to take measures for procuring on the coast of Africa, an establishment, to which the people of color of these United States might, from time to time, be colonized, under the auspices of different governments. *Having long ago made up my mind on this subject, I have no hesitation in saying, that I have ever thought that the most desirable measure that could be adopted, for gradually drawing off this part of our population—most advantageous for themselves as well as for us; going from a country possessing all the useful arts, they might be the means of transplanting them among the inhabitants of Africa; and would thus carry back to the country of their origin, the seeds of civilization; which might render their sojournment here a blessing, in the end, to that country.*"

The writer then states, that in the year 1805, he had received a letter from the Governor of Virginia, consulting him "at the request of the legislature of that State\*, on the means of procuring some such asylum to which these people might be occasionally sent;" and mentions his unsuccessful overtures to the Sierra Leone company and to the Portuguese government. The letter concludes with the following words. "*Indeed, nothing is more to be wished, than that the United States would, themselves, undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa.*"

In the letter to Mr. John Holmes, before quoted, dated April 22, 1820, Mr. Jefferson says, on the subject of slavery in the United States:

"I can say with conscious truth, that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in any *practicable* way. The cession of that kind of property, for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle which would not cost me a second thought if in that way a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected: and gradually and with due sacrifices, I think it might be."—[Jefferson's Works, Vol. 4, p. 324.

In his memoir of his own life, begun in 1821, Mr. Jefferson, referring to his plan of emancipation, says:

\* For a correspondence on this subject between the Governor of Virginia and President Jefferson, beginning in the year 1801, and certain proceedings of the Legislature of that State connected with it, see *African Repository*, Vol. 8, p. 97-106.

† This letter will be found in the first Report of the American Colonization Society, p. 13, 14.

"The bill on the subject of slaves, was a mere digest of the existing laws respecting them, without any intimation of a plan for a future and general emancipation. It was thought better that this should be kept back, and attempted only by way of amendment, whenever the bill should be brought on. The principles of the amendment, however, were agreed on, that is to say, *the freedom of all born after a certain day, and DEPORTATION at a proper age.* But it was found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition, nor will it bear it even at this day. Yet the day is not distant when it must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free; *nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, CANNOT LIVE IN THE SAME GOVERNMENT. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them.* It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably, and in such slow degree as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be *pari passu*, filled up by free white labourers." [Jefferson's Works, Vol. 1, p. 39, 40.]

In a letter to Mr. Jared Sparks, dated February 4, 1834, Mr. Jefferson says, "The article" [in the North American Review] 'on the African Colonization of the people of color, to which you invite my attention, I have read with great consideration. It is, indeed, a fine one, and will do much good. I learn from it more, too, than I had before known, of the success and promise of that Colony.' After mentioning as one rational object of establishing a colony on the coast of Africa, the introduction among the Aborigines of "the arts of cultivated life, and the blessings of civilization and science;" he says, "to fulfil this object, the colony of Sierra Leone promises well, and that of Mesurado adds to our prospect of success."—*Ibid.* Vol. 4, p. 388.

He then states as the other rational object of African Colonization, the removal to Africa of the whole colored population of the United States; and assigns his reasons for the opinion that it cannot be effected by a location on the coast of Africa; refers to his own plan of emancipation; and indicates St. Domingo as a suitable place for colonizing the deported individuals. But we hear nothing from Mr. Jefferson about the American Colonization Society's "wringing from the weak their 'consent' to removal."

In the same letter, speaking again of his plan for getting rid of slavery, Mr. Jefferson says that it is

"By emancipating the after born, leaving them on due compensation, with their mothers, until their services are worth their maintenance, and then putting them to industrious occupations, until a proper age for DEPORTATION. This was the result of my reflections on the subject five and forty years ago, and I have never yet been able to conceive any other practicable plan." \* \* "In the plan sketched in the Notes on Virginia, no particular place of asylum was specified; because it was thought possible, that in the revolutionary state of America, then commenced, events might open to us some one within practicable distance."—[*Ibid.* Vol. 4, p. 389, 390.]

From the foregoing citations it appears that in 1777, Mr. Jefferson proposed a plan for emancipating the slaves, of which one feature was, that at defined periods "they should be COLONIZED to such places as the circumstances of the time should render most proper:" that he considered the emancipation of the slaves and their continued residence in the same country with the whites, as forbidden by invincible objections, and that such a project would be followed "by convulsions which [would] probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race:" that twenty-eight years afterwards, while filling the office of President of the United States, he entered into negotiations to procure a Colonial asylum for manumitted slaves: that a few years subsequently he described Colonization to be "the most desirable measure that could be adopted for gradually drawing off" our coloured population, and strongly advised "that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa:" that in 1820 he referred to a "general emancipation and expatriation," in terms showing that he regarded their union in the same scheme as being the only "practicable

way" of relieving his country from the "heavy reproach" of African Slavery:\* that in 1821, he characterized his plan as combining emancipation and "deportation," and emphatically expressed the opinion that the *black and white* "races, equally free, CANNOT live in the same government:" and that three years after the last named period, referring again to the same plan, he speaks of DEPORTATION as a part of it. And yet, in the teeth of all these declarations, Mr. James G. Birney comes forward and asserts before the world that

*"Mr. Jefferson was but a little distance in the rear of the abolitionists of the present day; that his scheme embraced an abrogation of slavery, except in reference to the slaves then in being; and LEAVING EMIGRATION, as it would seem right it should be, ENTIRELY TO THE OPTION OF THE COLORED MAN;" and that it left the colored People "free to choose whether THEY WOULD REMAIN HERE AS FREEMEN, or migrate, in the same character, to another home that would please them better!"*

Palpable as this misrepresentation is, Mr. Birney's character forbids the conclusion that it is wilful. But it displays such gross inaccuracy, as to require from every reader, whose object is "the advancement of truth," suspicious scrutiny into all the statements and reasonings of a writer who can, in any instance, fall into such "indefensible error."

It will not escape the reader's observation, that even had Mr. Jefferson expressed the opinion ascribed to him by Mr. B., and even, what is more important, were that opinion correct, it would not, nevertheless, sustain the objection which is raised. The offer of the Society to the Free People of Colour, is to send to Liberia such of them as are willing to go thither. Now, as their residence in the United States is, by general admission, attended with many vexatious circumstances, what harm does the Society do by proposing an alternative, even supposing such alternative to be ineligible?—Their free choice between remaining as they are and accepting it, is not controlled by the fact of its being proposed. And so, too, in regard to such of the manumissions resulting from the incidental operation of the Society's scheme, as are conditioned on removal to the Colony. Is the slave injured by the option extended to him of continuing a slave or emigrating to Liberia? Surely not, though his deliberations may end in a preference of slavery. The Colonization Society, it should always be borne in mind, has neither, on the one hand, professed the doctrine that no slave ought to be manumitted except on the condition of deportation; nor has it, on the other, undertaken to condemn such laws of the State governments as prescribe that condition. By pursuing either of these courses, it would have deliberately infringed its own Constitution, and have been a volunteer impotent except for mischief.

After some compliments to the late venerable Dr. Finley's heart, and a counteracting depreciation of his understanding; a suggestion that he held opinions "mingled with indefensible error and prejudice"(!); an account of his colonizing plan; an allusion to that hack of poets and novelists, the Upas tree; and a contrast, equally original, between the government of Turkey and that of the United States; Mr. B. declares that in the former country,

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\* In the memorial of the American Colonization Society, subscribed by its President, the lamented Judge Washington, and submitted to the Congress of the United States in 1817, by Mr. John Randolph, of Virginia, the following language is held:

"The existence of *distinct and separate casts or classes*, forming exceptions to the general system of polity adapted to the community, is an *inherent vice* in the composition of society, pregnant with baleful consequences, both moral and political, and demanding the utmost exertion of human energy and foresight to remedy or remove."—[*African Repository*, Vol. 2, p. 176.]

"Where neither the *government* nor *public sentiment* acknowledges any principle sanitary and corrective of oppression—efforts tending to any other object than the removal of the oppressed from the scene of their sufferings would, justly, be deemed enthusiastic and absurd."

But he thinks, if we see rightly his argument gleaming through a cloud of words, that such removal from the United States, where the principle is acknowledged that "all men are created equal, and have rights that are inalienable, to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," is a "poor shift," a "conscience-calming expedient for the present exigency." When gentlemen persist in involving a practical question in the meshes of abstraction, they ought at least to exhibit fully and fairly the bearings of the general principle on which they rest. Now, did it never occur to Mr. Birney, as it undoubtedly must have done to the signers of the Declaration of Independence, that the "inalienable rights" of individuals are not lost to them by their social union? that self-preservation is an "inalienable right" of society? that it may properly apply this principle to the granting or refusing of accessions to itself? or that the people of the United States have a clear right to judge of the tendency of any system or project to affect their safety or happiness, and to determine accordingly on accepting or rejecting such system or project? Will Mr. B. affirm that they have pronounced a favorable judgment on any plan, except that of Colonization, which has hitherto been devised for the benefit of the African race? He has admitted that the Colonizing scheme has obtained great popularity in the United States. When, therefore, he urges the withdrawal of public confidence from this scheme, instead of raising a hue and cry against it, he should exhibit, fairly and particularly, his substitute. To say that the liberated slaves, on a general plan of emancipation, will consent "to take a lowly station" in the United States, assumes the very point in controversy, namely, that they can take either a lofty or a lowly station there, with safety to either themselves or the whites. It is not our business, though it ought to have been Mr. Birney's, to argue this question.

Mr. B. having tried his hand at soliloquies and dialogues, indulges, at this part of the letter, in another dramatic variety entitled "An intelligent 'free-man of colour's most probable train of reflections." The declamation of this episode is rather more wordy than that of the residue of the letter, and considerably more mischievous. What good purpose to either the white or the coloured race can be accomplished by such inflammatory, intense and strife stirring appeals, it is for their authors to explain. By such means, Mr. Birney boasts, the free blacks have been made hostile to Colonization. If so, those who have excited these unfortunate persons against the only scheme which has *done* any thing for their relief, have assumed a fearful responsibility. Mr. B. gives a statement, the correctness of which we shall not stop to examine, of the expeditions to Liberia, in order to show "that the free coloured people have almost entirely abandoned the project" of Colonization. The proof of this proposition is, that the aggregate number of emigrants by four recent expeditions were 260, of whom 200 were manumitted slaves. But this is also evidence that the Colonization Society tends to promote emancipation; a doctrine which, it will be remembered Mr. Birney had called in question. The embarrassment of either the cause or the advocate must be extreme, when the argument in one part of it so often refutes the argument in another.

The only feature of reasoning observable in the "train of reflections" to which we have adverted, is where the "intelligent" reflector is made to contend that if the prejudice of the white man is strong against him here, it is not likely to be weakened by his removal to Africa; and that if he is a "nuisance" here, he will be so there. To this the answer is

obvious:—Whatever prejudice against the free people of colour exists in the United States arises from their common residence with a race to which they are politically and socially inferior. But the prejudice cannot operate where an ocean divides him who suffered under, from him who entertained it; nor can the degradation co-exist with the elevating spirit of political liberty. The first branch of this proposition is self-evident; and of the second, abundant and daily thickening proofs are furnished at the Liberian Colony.

It will be observed that the reflector is made to assume that the friends of Colonization describe the free coloured people in the United States as a "nuisance." This topic had become almost stale in the hands of ultra-abolitionists; but as it is calculated to make Colonization odious to the persons thus stigmatized, Mr. Birney naturally repeats it. Can he show that the Society has ever authorized this description? Or is it a part of his tactics to make the Society responsible, at every turn, for the volunteer extravagances of agents or friends?

In their Address to the people of the United States, published several years ago, the Managers call the coloured part of our population "a long afflicted and degraded people in the midst of us." That they are "afflicted," Mr. B. will probably not now deny, although he had just laboured to prove it: That they are "degraded," in the true sense of the term, must be obvious to every candid observer of the free coloured people, to say nothing of the slaves, in all the States, and not the less so in the non-slaveholding States. But the word "degraded" does not imply, however the philologists of Mr. Garrison's school may define it, the moral pollution meant by the term "nuisance." Nor is it disputable, on the other hand, that the social circumstances of the free people of colour in our country exert an influence on their morals, which in some sections is debasing, and in all unfavorable.

On reaching his third general head, viz. "*The practical influence of Colonization on Africa*," our author proposes, "for the advancement of truth," to examine, i. e. to contest, "the soundness of the position taken by the colonizationists, that the colony will be the great means of Christianizing and civilizing Africa." And here in *limine* Mr. B. makes an admission which being, we think, nearly conclusive against him, might seem over candid, but for his disregard, as in similar cases, of its legitimate operation. His words are,

"That the colony will continue to grow in numbers and importance, until it may be considered as permanently established; that it will furnish a footing for missionaries and others, who may engage in this work of benevolence: that *here* in future times, as in many of our cities now, the religious will assemble to consult and organize associations for diffusing a knowledge of Christianity among the heathen, I shall not for a moment controvert."

Let the reader consider the extent of this admission, and the fact that Liberia is the only establishment on the African coast, of which can be predicated the religious advantages, present and prospective, named in the admission: and then let him, if he can, join Mr. Birney in denying the reasonableness of the expectation "that the colony will be the great means of Christianizing and civilizing Africa." It is marvellous that a writer who describes the colony as a permanent station for missionary enterprise, and as the seat of future congresses of pious men, assembling to diffuse the blessings of Christianity among the heathen, should, almost in the same breath, invoke a Christian people, his own fellow-citizens, "to be utterly divorced from Colonization in all its parts and in all its measures!"

It denouncing African Colonization, Mr. Birney declares war on the

Colonization principle generally. In "Colonial Christianity" particularly, there is a "scorching spirit!" The historical examples adduced to prove this position, besides other inaptitudes to their purpose, are liable to an objection so obvious, that Mr. B. anticipates, and attempts to answer it. The objection, as he states it, is this: "The European colonists differed in colour from the natives of countries where they established themselves; whereas the negro colonist of this country goes to Africa with all the advantages of similar colour and physical conformation."

But Mr. B. thinks that there are "causes as completely repulsive between the native African and the colonist from the United States, as any that can be found in *colour or form*."

He cites Mr. Pinney as saying, that "The natives are, as to wealth and intellectual cultivation, related to the colonists, as the negro of America is to the white man; and this fact, added to their mode of dress, which consists of nothing usually but a handkerchief around the loins, leads to the same distinction as exists in America between colours." And also, "from my limited observation, it is evident, that as little effort is made by the colonists to elevate them as is usually made by the higher class in the United States to elevate the lower."

Mr. Samuel Jones, another of Mr. Birney's witnesses, has given at Lexington, Danville, and elsewhere, testimony in relation to the colony, so comprehensive and particular, and so favourable to it on many important points, that the reader would do great injustice to this witness in supposing that the "whole truth" as told by him is contained in Mr. B.'s extracts from his journal.

Mr. Pinney will probably be surprised to learn the manner in which the citations from his letter have been applied. Because emigrants from a civilized and Christian land, are wealthier and better informed than the Aboriginal heathen; because a dependant and infant colony has not changed ancient nomadic customs, and clothed naked nations; and because the colonists are only as solicitous to exalt their inferiors as the "higher class in the United States" is "to elevate the lower;" there is, forsooth, in "Colonial Christianity," a "scorching spirit," and Colonization ought to be abandoned "in all its parts and purposes!" While rejecting these extravagant conclusions, we admit, nevertheless, that there is much to be regretted in the relations between the natives and the colonists. Melioration in this respect is a leading feature of the measures lately adopted by the Managers for promoting the great objects of the establishments at Liberia. It may be reasonably hoped that the progressive improvement of the colonists themselves will be attended with corresponding efforts on their part to civilize the natives; and that the contemplation of colonial happiness will incite the natives to co-operate in plans for their own benefit. But until a sufficient time shall have been allowed to the experiment, public opinion will be just enough to forbear inflicting the penalty proposed in Mr. Birney's anathema.

"But, Sir," asks Mr. B., "has it ever been known, that *Commercial* establishments have proved to be sources of religious knowledge and improvement to the heathen, among whom they have been placed? The colony of Liberia is emphatically one of this character—there exists in it, according to all accounts, a rage for trade. Let us recur for a moment to the history of religious efforts among our neighbouring Indians. Who, amongst us, would ever think of encouraging a *trading station*, or *company of petty shopkeepers* (such as could be induced to emigrate for *gain*), and upholding them, as the best means of diffusing a knowledge of Christianity among the Indians as *missionary stations*!"

That the phrase "commercial establishments" is here used in its exclusive sense, as synonymous with "trading stations," is shown by the

illustrations which are resorted to. It is unfortunately true, that too great a fondness for trade has existed, and we fear, still exists at the colony. But it is also true that so soon as the excess of this predilection became known to the Managers, they adopted salutary correctives. The most efficient would, they judged, be to create a preference for agriculture by offering proper inducements to farming pursuits. To this end much of their legislation, especially of late, has tended, as the public are already informed through the medium of this journal; and strong reliance is felt by the Board on the successful issue of the measures in progress. Meanwhile, to call Liberia a "trading station," as if trade were its exclusive object, because trade is carried on there, or the motive for its establishment, is an abuse of language. Mr. Birney might as well call London or Philadelphia a "trading station." In regard to the traffic between the colonists and the natives\*, whatever there may be in it which deserves censure, Mr. B., in order to justify his sentence of plenary condemnation, ought to show that it is more pernicious to the natives, than the trade was which they pursued before the existence of the colony. This, we apprehend, it would be easier to assert than to prove.

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\* In reference to Mr. Birney's use of this topic, the New York Observer of September 6, contains the following judicious remarks:—"We confess that we are among those who have indulged the expectation that the colony of Liberia will exert a powerful influence in spreading civilization and Christianity over Western Africa; and after duly weighing all that Mr. Birney has said on the subject, we see no reason for abandoning this expectation. We freely admit that the trade in ardent spirits and the implements of war, wherever it exists, is a formidable obstacle to the success of the Christian missionary. But in regard to the coast of West Africa, the question is not, whether the missionaries shall encounter this obstacle: that point is already settled, for rum and gunpowder have been the great articles of trade with the natives on all that coast for more than two centuries, and there is no spot to which the missionary could obtain access where he would not find the trader in these articles already established, and from his little factory exerting a controlling influence over the natives around him. The question is, whether, (Christian colonies being abolished) the missionary shall be left alone and unaided, to encounter the trader on his own territory, where there is no power that can check his bad influence, or whether he shall avail himself of the assistance that may be derived from a government framed and conducted by men willing to second him in all his views, and from the public sentiment of a community trained in the principles of the Gospel, and as capable as any other Christian community of being made to feel the obligation of these principles. The question is, whether Liberia as it now is, does not on the whole present more eligible stations for missionaries to the heathen than it would if there were no colony on its territory? Let the conduct of the American board of Foreign Missions answer this question. That board, composed of some of the wisest men in our country, have been studying the subject of Christian missions for more than twenty years; they have their missionaries in every part of the heathen world, and they understand the nature of obstacles to Christian missions better than any other men in the land. The board have recently determined to establish missions in Western Africa; and out of the hundred points presented for their choice along a coast of two thousand miles, which do they select? Are they not the points in the immediate vicinity of our Christian colony? And is not this proof that the men who are best competent to judge in the case regard Christian colonies on the coast of Africa as, on the whole, favorable to the success of missions among the heathen. But if Liberia, with all its present imperfections, is viewed by the most intelligent promoters of missions to the heathen as an aid to their cause, what may we not hope for, when public sentiment in this country, operating upon public sentiment in the colony, shall consign to merited disgrace the trader in all articles which are destructive to the bodies and souls of men? What may we not hope for, when new colonies, like that at Cape Palmas, adopting the purest principles of morality as fundamental articles in their constitution, shall be established along the whole coast from Sierra Leone to the Cape of Good Hope? What may we not hope for, when the most intelligent coloured men in this country, burning with zeal to preach the Gospel to their heathen brethren in Africa, and trained for the office by the best instructors, both here and in the colonies, shall go forth from all the points secured by those colonies, to publish the good news of salvation to the millions, whom the voice of the white man can never reach? Does Mr. Birney regard such expectations as merely a delusive dream? We believe that this dream may be realized, and we dare not, therefore, call upon our Christian brethren to divorce themselves from civilization in all its arts and in all its measures."

Fully as each part of this singular epistle under examination prepares the reader for extravagance in the sequel, one proposition is introduced towards its close, so monstrous as to put at fault all his previous discipline. Will it be believed that Mr. Birney considers the Liberian colony as tending to **PROMOTE** the prosecution of the *slave trade*? Let him speak for himself:

"Is it not very probable, that those very persons who have looked with high expectations, to the scheme of Colonization, as the best that could be devised for the annihilation of the African slave trade, are doomed to suffer utter disappointment. This trade has been carried on since the establishment of the colonies at Sierra Leone and Liberia, as vigorously as it ever had been driven at any former period; and notwithstanding it is regarded by the laws of the states of Europe, as well as of our own country, *piracy*, and is punishable with death, and many of the public ships of these powers, particularly of England, are continually cruising in the African seas in quest of slavers, yet, sir, is this traffic in human flesh carried on throughout the whole coast, and to no contemptible extent, *even in their own colony established for its suppression*. This fact was fully disclosed by an inquiry instituted not long since, in the British Parliament. Nor am I, by any means, sure that the result of the same inquiry does not, on very strong grounds, implicate some of our own colonists of either directly participating in the trade, or else conniving at its existence in the neighborhood of Monrovia.

May we not be prepared to expect this, from the evidence already before the public, of the entire deterioration of the Christian character in such of the colonists as have been most successful in trade, and their utter neglect, thus far, of the natives? If men professing Christianity will at this day consent to enrich themselves by the sale of such vast quantities of ardent spirits as have been sold to the natives by church members in Liberia, their next movement will be to sell to the *slaves* his supplies—suspecting him to be such, yet asking no questions, for who questions a customer with a full purse? The next step will be to assume a secret agency for him; the next, a direct participation in the profits connected with the agency; and lastly, when such men by their wealth and influence have moulded public opinion to sustain their views, and the colony is left to its own government, there will, in all probability, be a shameless and open prosecution of the trade in their fellow-beings."

Mr. Birney has not denied and cannot deny, that along a coast of nearly three hundred miles, wherever the influence of the Colony could reach, the African slave trade has been extinguished. The expectation fairly springing from this fact, is that as the Colonial settlements grow in numbers and importance, they will exert increased efficacy in suppressing the slave trade. But Mr. B. prefers to this obvious calculation, inferences from premises palpably insufficient for any purpose except to manifest a spirit of exaggeration against the Colony. The slave trade, we are told, "has been carried on since the establishment of the Colonies at Sierra Leone and Liberia, as vigorously" (even Mr. B. shrinks from saying as *extensively*) "as at any former period;" it has even been prosecuted at the Colony of Sierra Leone. Mr. B. is not "by any means sure," [a fresh specimen of his *stiletto* style of accusation!] that "some of our own Colonists" are not even now concerned in the slave trade; some of the Liberian merchants are alleged, but not proved, to have grown rich by selling ardent spirits to the natives; *ergo*, these merchants will hereafter be slave traders themselves; and *ergo* again, when "the Colony is left to its own government, there will, in all probability, be a shameless and open prosecution of the trade in their fellow beings!" To say nothing of the uncharitableness of this mode of reasoning, we venture to say that in a court of justice, the advocate of a party charged with a criminal offence, who should hazard an argument so loose in its connexion, and so violent in its presumptions, would be deemed by Court, jury and audience, as being culpably regardless of the interests of his client, and of his own fame. What shall be said of such licentiousness, when the object is not defence, but crimination?

As this Protest against the Colonization Society approaches its long considered conclusion, the reader once more meets with his old acquaintance, the "Ira:"

"If it be true," says Mr. B. speaking of Colonization, "that, whilst it professes in itself a capacity for the relief of the country from slavery, it has, after seventeen years of trial—*fair and honorable trial*—done nothing that has touched the matter; if it falls in with—though it may not have originated—uncharitable feelings, unscriptural and unreasonable prejudices, and inhuman laws against the colored population among us; if it occasions a deterioration of Christian character in the great body of those who emigrate—and *through them* brings the Christian religion into dishonor, among the heathen—there is nothing in it, according to my poor judgment, that entitles it to the support of the patriot or the Christian."

"If," indeed, these positions be true, Mr. B.'s inference from them is irresistible: and passing weak must be the reasoner who, assuming boundless license in creating his premises, should fail in his conclusions. But "if," on the other hand, as we have endeavoured to show, and sometimes with the aid of Mr. B. himself, not one of his "*Ifs*" be true, he is right in the opinion that only a "poor judgment" can determine that "there is 'nothing in [Colonization] which entitles it to the support of the patriot or the Christian.'" One topic of this recapitulatory series of "*Ifs*," is there introduced for the first time in the letter. Mr. B. speaks of the Colonization cause in the United States as having had "seventeen years of 'trial—*fair and honorable trial*.'" In his new born zeal against the Colonizing Society, the commencement of its operations is here dated from the preliminary meeting in Washington in December, 1816, which preceded by several years the settlement of the Liberian Colony. The epithets "*fair and honorable*" are italicised by Mr. Birney, in order, it may be supposed, to convey the impression that the trial of the Society has been *peculiarly* "*fair and honorable*." He forgets, then, that all which traduction could do to possess the public mind with false views of the principles and proceedings of the Society, has been attempted by those with whom he disclaims any connexion, but whose opinions, nevertheless, remarkably coincide with those now professed by himself. That a large majority of the American nation have given the Society a "*fair and honorable trial*," and are disposed to afford it a farther hearing, it would gratefully acknowledge. With the results of the trial as hitherto disclosed, it has every reason to be satisfied. What is Mr. Birney's estimate of these results, cannot easily be told. For, we have seen in one part of his letter the Society described as "bringing around it the learned, the religious, the influential;" as having "by the multiplied resolutions of favoring Legislatures, of ecclesiastical bodies, with their hundred conventions, assemblies, conferences and associations, so far exalted itself into the high places of public sentiment, as itself to constitute public sentiment;" and as having "acquired great authority over the mind of this people." And in the part of the letter which we have now reached, it is said: "Although colonization in the west and south-west—as to any effectual future action—is dead; yet its ghost is unceasingly beckoning us away from the only course 'in which our safety lies.'" What this "only course" is, Mr. Birney nowhere distinctly announces. He vaunts that his opinions are those "to which such minds as Wilberforce and Clarkson yielded their full assent—that they are the opinions of the *disinterested* and excellent of our own country." Though the lamented Wilberforce was induced, during his last illness, to sign the London Protest against the Colonization Society, it is well known that his mind, in its period of health and energy, was decidedly favorable to that Institution, and that the same sentiment is still entertained by the venerable Clarkson. But even were the fact otherwise, the competency of any foreigner, however morally and intellectually distinguished, to pass conclusive judgment on the intricate domestic question peculiar to the United States, may well be doubted. The claim of Anti-Colonizationism that "*the disinterested and excellent of our own country*"

belong exclusively to its ranks, is novel enough, whatever may be said of its modesty, of its justice, or of its consistency with other declarations of Mr. Birney. "The stainless purity of motive" which in a former part of this extraordinary composition he "very cheerfully attributes" "to a large 'majority' of the supporters of Colonization, looks very much, Dr. Johnson would think, like "disinterestedness;" and the same quality might be expected in those Colonizationists of whom Mr. B. says: "I have friends 'dear to me, who would, in integrity, rank with the Camilli and the Fabricii, and in the strength of Christian principle, fall but little behind the 'martyrs of the church.'" The Colonizing Society, without appropriating to itself this high-flown eulogy, may justly aver that there is nothing in the character of its members or in the nature of its plan, deserving the imputations which its seceding brother has cast on it; and which a few idle compliments serve only to place in full relief. The American People, too, may be of opinion that in denouncing a scheme which had received some portion of their favor, which had done something, whatever might be its amount, towards mitigating a great national evil, and which had at least the merit of loyalty to their constitution and laws,—Mr. Birney should put forward some alternative plan, possessing superior claims on their confidence. The benevolent and the pious, who were looking with intense solicitude on the agency of that scheme in meliorating the condition of an ill-starred portion of the human family, and in planting the standard of the cross in the fastnesses of paganism, may complain of the rashness which seeks to extinguish the light of their hopes without providing against the darkness that must follow. Mr. Birney urges, to be sure, the instant abolition of slavery. But he attempts not to indicate the means by which this abolition is to be effected. So far as his project can be conjectured by the analogy of his reasoning to that of other denouncers of Colonization, it proceeds either on the supposition that unmeasured abuse of the slaveholder will persuade him to relinquish what he considers rights, secured to him by the Constitution of his country; or, in the contingency of his refusal, that those rights are to be wrested from him by an infraction of that instrument. Between an enterprise so chimerical or revolutionary, and the practical, inoffensive, and Constitutional system of Colonization, it is for an enlightened people to decide.

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#### DR. BEECHER'S ADDRESS.

We copy from the Cincinnati Journal, the Rev. Dr. Beecher's eloquent speech at the late Colonization meeting in that city:—

There can be no doubt that slavery, through the world, is destined to cease. Man was to be governed by reason, conscience, and the laws of heaven; and the signs of the times announce, that the day hastens, when every yoke shall be broken, and the oppressed go free. The illumination of science, the contributions of art, the diffusion of knowledge, the principles of liberty, the power of public sentiment, and the example of prosperous self-government are revolutionizing the world.

In our own country, it is manifest that slavery must terminate quickly; and we trust that before the close of the present century, the reproach will be wiped away.

Our free institutions, public sentiment, the climate, and the depreciation of slave labor in some states,—in others, the exhaustion of the soil, and in all, the growing knowledge, impatience, inutility and peril of the slave population—the increase of emigration, from considerations of conscience or fear or necessity, and the existing or fast approaching emancipation of the colored race in the Islands, in Mexico, and in many of the non-slaveholding states, all declare the termination of the relations of master and slave to be near.

But as all past great changes in society have been accomplished by providential instrumentality, it is time that the chosen instrumentality should begin to be developed; and it

is developed, in the extended and extending associations of the colonization and abolition societies, which, though like opposing clouds they seem to be rushing into collision, will, I doubt not, pour out their concentrated treasure in one broad stream of benevolence—like rivers, which ripple and chafe in their first conjunction, but soon run down their angry waves, and mingle their party-colored waters, as they roll onward toward the ocean.

I rise, therefore, not as the exclusive partizan or opponent of either of these societies, but to say to them, as Joseph said to the sons of Jacob, "See that ye fall not out by the way, for ye are brethren."

It is not to be expected that either of them, in the novitiate of their being, will be able to escape mistake and defy criticism. It does not lie within the compass of human faculties, to plan and execute with infallible foresight and wisdom. Society must continue in barbarism, if we reject improvement except on condition of consummated perfection. It seems also impossible to rouse the mass sufficiently for great undertakings, without a heat which ignites the most ardent temperament to explosion and irregular action, throwing back repugnancy on the main body. One of the greatest vexations which Luther and other reformers had to encounter, was the indiscreet zeal of this class of minds. The cause of liberty, in the early stages of our revolutionary struggle, was dishonored by patriot tory hunters, of tarring and feathering memory. In great revivals of religion, men of this temperament do often great good, and yet in such a manner, as to do sometimes more hurt than good. The cause of benevolence, then, in meliorating the condition of men, is not to be made accountable for those mistakes and indiscretions, which the greatest care cannot wholly avoid in novel experiments and great movements of the human mind. I will not, however, embalm and canonize mistakes and imprudence, because found always with great and benevolent undertakings. They stand out on the page of history, for warning, and not for daring and reckless imitation.

It will be my object to show, that in meliorating the condition of the colored race, there is a work for the Colonization Society to perform, and that in its proper sphere, it is worthy of continued confidence and efficient support, and that for the emancipation and elevation of the colored race, there is also a work which more properly belongs to a society for the purposes of Abolition, which, judiciously conducted, may win the hearty co-operation of all patriots and Christians.

No doubt the great providential work for which the Colonization Society is raised up, lies in Africa—compared with which all the good accomplished in this country is merely incidental, and as a drop of the bucket in the ocean. The wrongs of Africa are to be redressed; her darkness exchanged for light; her sighs and tears for songs of praise; her long captivity, for glorious and never ending liberty: What men meant for evil, God meant for good; and the accomplishment of his comprehensive plan will at last cause the wrath of man to praise him in the civilization and Christianization of Africa.

By the hands of the colonists he is beginning to scatter the pirates which infest her coast, and extinguish the fires of her dark interior; and bind up her wounds, and bid her rise to the community of nations, whose God is the Lord.

That the slave trade must cease is *certain*. Feeble as the moral sense of nations is, and slow as is their movement in a work of justice and mercy, the conscience of nations is beginning to act, and the arm of power to be extended, in earnest, to blot out this long standing shame on humanity.

That the slave trade must cease *soon*, is manifest from the movements of Providence.—The power of steam is opening a highway to the heart and the extremities of Africa; and commerce, the pioneer of Christianity, has commenced her march, and the angel has lifted the wing for flight, to preach, trumpet-tongued, the everlasting gospel.

But the influence of the slave trade over the petty kings on the coast and in the interior is such as renders impossible the establishment of mere missionary stations. Fast as they could be planted, they would be instigated to cut them off with moral certainty.

In these circumstances naval protection would not avail. The great expense, the extended coast, and the inconstant elements, render the exclusion of the slave pirate from access impossible. There must be *land* defences, and these must be colonial establishments stretched along the coast, conciliating the natives, and substituting a healthful commerce for traffic in the souls and bodies of men.

At the time the Colonization Society was formed, a simple missionary establishment could not have been originated and sustained even in our own country. The missionary spirit was not sufficiently up, and denominational prejudices and sectional jealousies and irreligious aversions would have defeated the effort, but heaven saw what was needed, and raised up Mills, to pass with silent, miraculous perseverance through the southern states, asking questions, collecting facts, sounding feeling, giving light, and preparing the affinities for a coalescence, at the proper time. He explored Africa, and by the sacrifice of his life organized the band of her deliverers, and opened the way for her salvation. The Colonization Society is the offspring of his prayers and wisdom. It assumed what at that day none questioned—the impossibility of expatriation. *That* may prove to be true, or it may not; the subject is as yet unsettled: a matter of theory and argument, and not of experience; but to have preached emancipation then as plainly as it has since been urged in the legislatures of slave-holding states would have consigned the society to contempt and

imbecility. But, heaven-directed, it moved on, and called up attention, excited hope, awakened conscience, diffused information, and extended discussion, secured confidence, collected resources, proposed and executed plans of colonial establishment, until success itself outran the capacity of efficient management, and threw back the reaction of a temporary embarrassment, and produced the conviction that in the vast movement, a division of labor was indispensable; that a home department to superintend the work of emancipation and moral culture was indispensable, while the civilization and christianization of Africa, by colonial establishments, should absorb the interest and effort of the Colonization Society. And He who seeth the end from the beginning, has called into being another institution, disposed, and if wisely directed, abundantly able to do the work. Both, we believe, to be the offspring of providential wisdom and benevolence, according to their respective views and preferences, to one or the other department of this glorious work.

They are distinct departments. They are ample. They are of urgent necessity, and do not of necessity interfere with, but mutually aid one another. The demand of Africa upon us is imperious and must not be disregarded or postponed.

And the condition of the free colored race, and of their brethren in bondage, and our own condition, all demand immediate and earnest heed. It is a subject not to be slept over, and not to be committed to providence without the offer of a willing and an associated instrumentality. In an appalling ratio, the slaves are increasing; and the condition of the free, with such incapacities as they labor under, will become worse instead of better, as their numbers multiply.

Humanity, benevolence, self-preservation, and the providence of God, demand urgently, a more direct and efficient movement to avert the evil. But great care is needed that in this diversion of labor, the children of benevolence should not fall out by the way. How mournful would be the sight, should the Christians of the United States array themselves in antagonist societies. It is a contention, which above all others should be let alone before it be meddled with; for should it enter the churches, it might agitate and rend them, burning up the gold and leaving only dross. It might separate very friends, now harmonious in the great enterprises of the day, and send discord and dismay through the sacramental host. The unhallowed controversy might break out in colleges, and theological seminaries, and raise up a generation of conflicting ministers to perpetuate strife through the coming generation.

There would be great danger, that the collision would degenerate into party spirit, depreciating each other's success, and amplifying and rejoicing in each other's mistakes, and publishing to an exulting, unbelieving world, each other's failings; and bring a deep reproach, over which angels must weep, upon our common Christianity. No hindrance of the Colonization Society to the cause of Abolition could well become as great an evil, as the controversy likely to be introduced, by an effort to put it down. It would be an anomaly in the history of our benevolent institutions; a root of bitterness, unknown in our churches before; a baleful comet athwart our heavens, shaking pestilence and war from its fiery train. And why should the Colonization Society be rejected from the brotherhood of benevolent institutions? Both associations are agreed in most of the great principles which command the entire subject.

That slavery is wrong, and a great national sin and national calamity, and that as soon as possible it is to be brought to an end; not however, by force, nor by national legislation, nor by fomenting insurrection, nor by the violation of the constitution and the dissolution of the union, but by information, and argument, and moral suasion—and by the spontaneous action of the slave-holding states. Nor are they of necessity antagonist societies in practice.

It is not necessary that the Colonization Society should be or claim to be an adequate remedy for slavery. Her great and primary object, is the emancipation of Africa, while she anticipated as an incidental result, the emancipation of the colored race at home. But if time has disclosed what she could not foresee, she may bow submissively to the providential will of heaven.

If in the urgency of her early argument, she has spoken in terms of unadvised depreciation of the free people of color, her most devoted sons have acknowledged the mistake, and are disposed to repair the injury. If she has insisted too peremptorily, that emancipation can never, in any circumstances, take place on the soil, she may quite consistently waive the discussion of that point; and leave to heaven and time, the manner of the abolition of slavery. The Colonization Society does not denounce the slave-holder: because it would not facilitate, but hinder her work; but her silence does not prevent others from doing it, if it seems good in their sight. If the effect of colonization would be to increase the security of the slave property, the effect would be only temporary and limited, and more than balanced by the general and more permanent good, for the diffusion of light and argument, which she could circulate where the agents of abolition could not come.—Every instance of abolition for colonial purposes, attracts notice, and produces discussion, and carries a new appeal to the conscience of the slave-holder and new hope to the bosom of the slave. The Colonization Society need not insist that the entire colored population shall be emptied out upon Africa; nor is it necessary that the Abolition Society should insist that none should go thither. Is it indispensable, to the emancipation of the sons of

Africa, that their mother country should sit in darkness, and drink blood amid the terrors of paganism and the slave trade, till all her exiled children are emancipated? Must her sons be taught to harden their hearts against her, till the entire reproach of slavery is wiped away? Is no compassion to be moved, prayer to be offered, no missionary spirit to burn, no sorrow of heart to be felt for kinsmen according to the flesh, in benighted Africa? Is there no obligation on Christians of the colored race, to volunteer for the introduction of Christianity to the land of their fathers? Where then is the necessity of a collision? The Colonization Society is not required to insist on its exclusive efficacy to put away slavery; and the Abolition Society is by no peculiarity of wisdom or foresight, authorized to insist that slavery shall terminate only in one way, and by their own single instrumentality.

Great moral events can never be accomplished by single causes, and God has never set his seal to all parts of any complex human plan.

Our brethren may be right, that the slave states will, in some form, emancipate on the soil. But can they compel them to do it by a moral embargo upon the emancipated?—Can they do it by sealing hermetically the crater, while they augment the intensity of the fires within?

And were it possible to burst every chain upon the soil, and force the colored race up the tide of prejudice, to an equality of intelligence and estimation, is it the most expeditious way to accomplish their elevation?

How long would it take to bring up to a mediocrity of intelligence and secular prosperity the lowest classes of our white population? It is a work which turns the destiny of our nation, and in which we toil almost without perceptible progress. But there are greater impediments to the elevation of the free colored people: and what if it be prejudice, is there any thing more unreasonable and obstinate? and what if it be wicked, is it less obstinate because it is criminal?

Besides, the colored race lack but half a million of our number, when our national existence commenced. And why should a nation so distinctly marked, be scattered among so many repellances among the whites?

Ought they to be satisfied with an elevation so low and privileges so meagre and doubtful, compared with the blessings of a distinct nationality?

The controversy rages, as if every thing turned on the question of African colonization, or emancipation and elevation among the whites.

But by what authority do we limit the Almighty, and tie down the destiny of the colored people to a condition so low compared with the blessings of nationality? And is there not land enough on this western continent for a colony of colored people, and if the whites can be brought to nurture them in their bosom, would they refuse to them the blessings of an associated residence? We trust our colored brethren will take more comprehensive views in respect to their nation than those which would compel them to rise against the greatest possible obstacles, to a doubtful mediocrity, while the great body of the people continue literally servants, though nominally free!

In our efforts to elevate the condition of the colored people, we owe it to ourselves and to them to avoid the consequences of a too precipitate approximation. They are not qualified to bear it with humility and discretion; and its injurious effects on them will but serve to confirm the prejudice against them, and against our benevolent efforts for their good.—It revolts also the public sentiment on this subject, which need not be outraged, and cannot, with impunity, be set at defiance. The prejudice of color is doubtless the result of condition and character. Had Africans been the oppressors, and Americans the slaves, white complexion and straight hair would have been the badges of servitude and the occasions of prejudice; but since prejudice is the result of condition and character, it is invincible till the causes which created it are removed. If condition has created the chasm, affinities of intellectual and moral character can alone fill it and produce a reasonable approximation. In this way only has it died away in Europe and other places where color, coupled with talent and moral worth, is no obstruction to social and civil intercourse; and all attempts to hasten approximation without these intervening qualifications, will but augment prejudices and repellances.

It is alike obvious, and all attempts of emancipation should be conducted with kindness of manner, and courteousness of language. The evils of slavery are such as make it easy to awaken sympathy and rouse up indignation, while the means of their most felicitous removal are those of meekness, patience, and untiring effort.

The importance of the cause affords no dispensation from the laws of prudence, or justification for heaping hard words upon the head of the slave-owner. It is he who must emancipate the slave; and he, by our instrumentality, will do it only as we conciliate and convince him, instead of rousing up his pride or anger. If it is his duty to emancipate in the shortest practicable period, and if by our rashness we rouse his indignation and ~~protract their bondage~~, we are partakers in his sin.

In this connexion, I may say that we ought by no means to denounce one another as the abettors of slavery, because we do not accord in all respects as to the ways and the means of accomplishing emancipation.

To denounce, therefore, all those who do not accord with us as the patrons of insurrec-

tion, on the one hand, and the abettors of slavery on the other, proceeds on the modest assumption that every jot and tittle of our judgment is infallibly right, and the smallest deviation, a justification of war.

Such are the conclusions to which a long and careful observation has brought me, and I cannot but hope that they may commend themselves to the judicious of all classes, and avert the calamities of a ruthless controversy. But should this hope not be realized, and the unrelenting war of extermination be turned upon us, then, mournful as the alternative may be, we stand, with great kindness, (for many of our opponents are among our most esteemed friends,) but with unalterable decision, for the protection and the deliverance of Africa. Having doubled and quadrupled our zeal and prayers and contributions and efforts, we persevere till age chills the current of our warm blood and lays our head low in the dust. We feel assured that God has called us to build up the desolations of that dark continent, and we cannot believe that he has forbidden us to finish, what he called us to begin.

The prayers which have been offered, the substance which has been given, the sacrifice of life which has been made, the territory which has been gained, the experience acquired, the confidence of the natives secured, the elements of civil and religious institutions brought together, are not recklessly to be thrown away. That it should be demanded, might seem wonderful, but that it should be conceded, would be more wonderful still.

God has called us to colonize Africa, as significantly as he called our fathers to colonize at Plymouth, or our foreign missionaries to sit down at Ceylon, or Owhyhee—and has he reversed the call? Has the trump of God warned us to desist? Have the elements made insurrection against us, or the stars in their courses fought against us, or such infatuation been poured out upon us as indicates his purpose to destroy? No voice from heaven has warned us from Africa; and no calamities which did not more powerfully obstruct the primitive Christians and the Puritan colonists, and no mistakes have happened to us but such as are common to men in conducting difficult and distant enterprises.

Why then should we abandon Africa? Who would take up the work under better auspices? No visible association exists, nor plan tested by experience, while an effort is making to divert all thought and interest and effort from Africa. To be absorbed in the experiment of abolition, is planting the seeds of sanguine hope, and putting on the harness with a confidence that might better best the putting it off. Why then should we abandon the colonization of Africa? Is the resurrection of Africa, inconsistent with the contemporaneous resurrection of her exiled sons? Must one sleep in the dust till the other arises? May not the trump of God call both from their graves at the same time?

But were the interests of Africa in direct collision with those of abolition, is it a settled point that the cause of Africa must be relinquished. Here, two millions and a half of souls are in bondage; there, if I mistake not, more than a hundred millions: Here evangelical light shineth dimly upon all, and intensely upon few; while in Africa, one hundred millions sit in darkness and in the region of the shadow of death. Here, though no finger were lifted, the night is far spent and the day is at hand: a course of providential movements has commenced that co-operation may accelerate, but opposition cannot hinder.—But what causes of promised deliverance lie in the bosom of Africa, and to what external aid can she look, when colonial protection is withdrawn, and the slave-trader and the petty despot maintain the empire of despotism and traffic in desolation.

In this view of the subject, who would take, willingly, the responsibility of opposing the Colonization of Africa; and what friend of Africa will falter or desert her cause? Who that has ever given will not give more than ever: and who that has plead her cause, will not plead with renewed importunity? We oppose not the emancipation or elevation of the colored race. We desire it sooner than it can come, we fear, by the means relied on by many. We have only to say to our brethren, hinder us not. Commend your cause to public confidence in your own way, and we will do the same with ours, and let the people judge; but let there be no controversy between us. But if, after all, the abandonment of Colonization is demanded, as the only condition of peace, then we have made our election. If it be possible, as much as in us lieth, we will live peaceably, but we cannot abandon the one hundred millions of Africa. The bones of Mills would send groans from the bosom of the deep—his spirit sigh from heaven, deeper darkness settle down upon ill-fated Africa. The fires of war would rage on, and her captive bands drag their chains from the interior to the shore, to wail and die amid the horrors of the middle passage, or to drag out a miserable life amid stripes, servitude and blood. If I forget thee, O Africa, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not plead thy cause, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.

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The Society gratefully acknowledges the receipt of \$200 in goods for the Colony from Elliott Cresson, Esq. They are also indebted to the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania for the passage in the *Ninus* of fourteen persons of colour, the expense of which would have been \$280.

## POETRY.

THE following beautiful and instructive stanzas were written by a school boy, who had not long been taken from one of the lowest stations in life. "His life," says the London Quarterly Review, (vol. 21, p. 396,) "had been eventful and unfortunate, till his extraordinary merits were discovered by persons capable of appreciating, and willing and able to assist him. He was then placed under a kind and able instructor, and arrangements had been made for supporting him at the University; but he had not enjoyed that prospect many weeks before it pleased God to remove him to a better world."

LINES WRITTEN IN THE CHURCH YARD OF RICHMOND, YORKSHIRE,  
BY HERBERT KNOWLES.

*"It is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias."* MATTHEW XVII. 4.

## 1.

Methinks it is good to be here,  
If thou wilt, let us build: but for whom?  
Nor Elias nor Moses appear,  
But the shadows of eve that encompass the gloom,  
The abode of the dead and the place of the tomb.

## 2.

Shall we build to Ambition? Oh, no!  
Affrighted, he shrinketh away:  
For see, they would pin him below,  
In a small narrow cave, and begirt with cold clay,  
To the meanest of reptiles a peer and a prey.

## 3.

To Beauty? Ah, no! she forgets  
The charms which she wielded before:  
Nor knows the foul worm that he frets  
The skin which but yesterday fools could adore  
For the smoothness it held, or the tint which it wore.

## 4.

Shall we build to the purple of Pride,  
The trappings which dizen the proud?  
Alas! they are all laid aside:  
And here's neither dress nor adornment allow'd,  
But the long winding sheet, and the fringe of the shroud.

## 5.

To riches? Alas! 'tis in vain!  
Who hid, in their turns have been hid:  
The treasures are squander'd again,  
And here in the grave, are all metals forbid  
But the tinsel which shone on the dark coffin-lid.

## 6.

To the pleasures which mirth can afford?  
The revel, the laugh, and the jeer?  
Ah! here is a plentiful board,  
But the guests are all mute as their pitiful cheer,  
And none but the worm is a reveller here.

## 7.

Shall we build to Affection and Love?  
Ah, no! they have withered and died,

Or fled with the spirit above.  
 Friends, brothers, and sisters are laid side by side,  
 Yet none have saluted, and none have replied.

8.

Unto Sorrow? The dead cannot grieve.  
 Not a sob, not a sigh meets mine ear,  
 Which compassion itself could relieve.  
 Ah, sweetly they slumber, nor hope, love, nor fear;  
 Peace, peace, is the watchword, the only one here.

9.

Unto death, to whom monarchs must bow?  
 Ah, no! For his empire is known,  
 And here there are trophies enow.  
 Beneath the cold dead, and around the dark stone,  
 Are the signs of a sceptre that none may disown.

10.

The first tabernacle to HOPE we will build,  
 And look for the sleepers around us to rise!  
 The second to FAITH, which ensures it fulfill'd;  
 And the third to the LAMB of the great sacrifice,  
 Who bequeath'd us them both when he rose to the skies.

## INTELLIGENCE.

## TO AUXILIARY SOCIETIES AND CLERGYMEN.

THE Managers of the American Colonization Society, believing that many copies of the African Repository are at present sent to Auxiliary Societies and Clergymen who have not, for a considerable time, contributed any thing to the funds of the Society, and being desirous of curtailing their contingent expenses as much as possible, have come to the conclusion of striking off from the list formerly given to the publisher of the work, the name of every Auxiliary Society and Clergyman, who has not, within the last two years, afforded aid to the Parent Society; and they give this notice of their intention. If, in carrying into effect this operation, any Society or Clergyman shall, by mistake, be erroneously included amongst the non-contributors, and fail to receive the Repository, the Managers hope the error will be pardoned, and that information will be immediately given thereof to this office, in order that the procedure may be corrected.

## TO OUR READERS.

The unexpected length of one of the articles in the present number obliges us to postpone the promised insertion of Dr. HODGKIN's remarks on the "*British African Colonization Society*," and several other interesting articles.

*Extract from the minutes of the Synod of New Jersey, October 1834.*

## THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Synod, the plan of colonizing, on the western coast of Africa, the free people of colour in the United States, merits the serious consideration of every Christian and benevolent person in our land.

*Resolved*, That notwithstanding the present pecuniary embarrassment of the American Colonization Society, there is nothing in the state of its affairs, that should discourage the friends of that institution with respect to the prosecution of their benevolent enterprise.

*Resolved*, That this Synod earnestly recommend the American Colonization Society to the prayers and patronage of the churches under its care.

The foregoing resolutions were, we learn from a correspondent of the *New York Observer*, (November 1) adopted with but two dissenting voices. "In support," says the same gentleman, "of the resolutions, the

Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, a member of the Synod, made a most eloquent address, and was listened to with delight and fixed attention by the members of that large and respectable body.

"The almost unanimous adoption of the resolutions evinces clearly that the cause of Colonization has still a firm hold upon the judgment and feelings of the friends of religion and humanity within the bounds of the New Jersey Synod."

#### DEATH OF THOMAS S. GRIMKE.

With heartfelt grief we record the death of THOMAS S. GRIMKE. This distinguished friend of literature, religion, and humanity, died in the 49th year of his age, on the 12th of October last, of the cholera, at the house of Mr. Anderson, in Madison County, Ohio. A more detailed notice of the life and character of the deceased than there is room for in the present number, is due to his memory, and will appear in our next.

#### EMIGRANTS TO AFRICA.

The ship *Ninus*, Capt. H. Parsons, sailed from Norfolk on Sunday the 26th of October, for Liberia, in Africa. She had on board 128 emigrants, 110 of whom were liberated by the late Dr. Hawes, of Rappahannock, Va. who also appropriated funds for their transportation.

With the approbation of the Parent Colonization Society, these go to found a new colony at Bassa Cove, about eighty miles distant from Monrovia, on the coast of that continent, whose nations are sitting in darkness, and in the regions of the shadow of death. They are sent to give them the light of Christian example, and to introduce among them the arts of civilized life. This colony is to be established on strictly Christian and temperance principles. These first emigrants to this new colony are nearly all members of the Baptist Church, and have in their number three preachers of their own colour. Twenty of them can read and write; and a goodly portion of them have valuable trades, and not one is super-

annuated. All of them seem to be above the ordinary class for vigor and intelligence.

There are also on board the ship *Ninus* 14 very valuable slaves, belonging to the estate of the late Matthew Page, Esq. of Frederick Co. Va. and now liberated with the consent of Rev. Mr. Andrews and Lady, (the daughter of Mr. Page.) to join at the old Colony others heretofore sent by Mrs. Page, the excellent sister of Bishop Meade. These are all amply provided for, having large stores of clothing, provisions, and tools, and every thing necessary to render them comfortable.

There are also on board of the same ship two white gentlemen and a lady, who go out as instructors. Upon the whole, there has no expedition gone to that country better equipped, and which has fairer prospects of success than the present.

On the subject of this new settlement, we subjoin the following article from the New York Spectator of October 23d.

It is pleasing to learn that information from various quarters confirms the wisdom of the selection made by the Young Men's Colonization Society of Pennsylvania, for their new colony. We have been favoured with the perusal of a letter from the Rev. John Hersey, late Vice Governor of the Cape Palmas Colony, to an officer of that Society, from which we make the following extracts.

"Respecting Bassa Cove as a location for the settlement of a colony of coloured people, I regret that it is not in my power to give you more extensive and satisfactory information, in reference to this interesting subject. My time during my stay in Africa was almost exclusively engrossed in making preparations for the comfort and accommodation of the new colony recently settled at Cape Palmas, consequently my personal knowledge of that section of country is very limited; nor can extensive or correct information be acquired in that land of ignorance, without much time and labour.

"I was at Gran Bassa on my way to Cape Palmas, and only spent part of two days there. There is a beautiful river (the St. John's) which empties into the ocean at that place. On the margin of this sheet of water, there has been a flourishing little town erected during the past year, called *Edna*. The inhabitants appeared to be in good health, and I was informed that they had suffered very little from sickness, and had lost very few of their number by death, although they had no physician with them. The margin

of the river and surrounding country is form-holy religion, as revealed in the sacred ed of rich, high and sandy ground, which Scriptures, and that the continuance of the appears to be free from marsh, swamp, or system, any longer than is necessary to pre-mangrove. At a distance of twenty or thirty pure for its safe and beneficial termination is nules in the interior, two large and beautiful sinful, feel it their duty earnestly to recom-mountains of a conical form arise to view. mend to all Presbyteries, church sessions, I was informed by several of the colonists and people under their care, to commence who had been in their vicinity, that several immediate preparation for the termination of beautiful streams of pellucid water ran down slavery among us;—so that this evil may their sides, which, after meandering through cease to exist with the present generation; a moderately broken and diversified country, and the future offspring of our slaves may be empty into the St. Johns. The colonists free.

have cleared the land in the vicinity of Edina to some extent, which is now under cultivation, and yields all the products of tropical countries in abundance. The soil is of a sandy texture, and is consequently cultivated with great facility. I was better pleased with the appearance of the country in the vicinity of Grand Bassa and Bassa Cove as a point of settlement, than any other place I saw on the coast.

"I hope that your laudable and truly benevolent efforts in the cause of suffering and degraded humanity, will be crowned with complete and triumphant success. Africa appears to be designed by a good and munificent God, as the residence and home of the coloured man.—There he can enjoy the sweets of liberty and religion, together with all the necessary comforts of this life.

"I am fully persuaded that the plan of Colonization pursued rationally, judiciously, and perseveringly, will ultimately silence all the clamors of its enemies, and induce the reflecting part of our coloured people to desire a lot in the land of their fathers as ardently as they are now taught to detest that country and their best friends.

"Yours, respectfully and affectionately,

"JOHN HERSEY.

"To Elliot Cresson, Esq."

#### SYNOD OF KENTUCKY.

*From the Western (Kentucky) Luminary, Oct. 13, 1834.*

The Synod of Kentucky commenced their annual meeting in the Presbyterian church at Danville, on Wednesday, the 8th inst. The Rev. ANDREW TODD was chosen Moderator, and Rev. NATHAN L. RICE, and Rev. JAMES HAWTHORN Clerks. Our information extends only to Saturday evening. Up to that time but little business of special interest had been transacted, excepting the adoption of the preamble and resolutions which we subjoin, on the subject of Slavery.

#### *Declaration and Resolutions of the Synod of Kentucky, concerning Slavery.*

This Synod, believing that the system of absolute and hereditary domestic slavery, as it exists among the members of our communion, is repugnant to the principles of our

In recommending that emancipation be universally extended to all slaves hereafter born, this Synod would not be understood as excluding those now living from the operation of the benevolent principle above commended. They believe there may be at the present time many slaves belonging to members of the Presbyterian communion, whose situations would be greatly improved by emancipation, and that many others, especially of the children and youth might be prepared for freedom by the use of reasonable efforts on the part of their masters. But it is difficult to provide by general rules for such individual cases, and this Synod thinks it best to leave them to the operation of the christian law of love on the consciences of men.

For the purpose of promoting harmony and concert of action on this important subject, the Synod do

*Resolve*, That a committee of ten be appointed, to consist of an equal number of ministers and elders, whose business it shall be to digest and prepare a plan for the moral and religious instruction of our slaves, and for their future emancipation, and to report such plan to the several Presbyteries within the bounds of this Synod, for their consideration and approval.

*Resolved further*, That this Synod have unabated confidence in the scheme of African Colonization, and hope of its great usefulness, and that we look upon African Colonization as one interesting door of hope opened to us in the providence of God for doing a signal service of patriotism to our common country, an act of justice to the unfortunate African race among us, and for spreading the blessings of civilization and the everlasting gospel in the interior of Africa.

After considerable discussion the paper was adopted; the yeas and nays being called for, are as follows; viz:

YEAS—J. Howe, S. Robinson, J. K. Burch, J. C. Barnes, Wm. Dixon, J. H. Brown, J. C. Young, Jos. Huber, W. L. Breckinridge, T. Root, P. Vanarsdale, J. Green, A. Reed, L. Landrum, Hugh Hays, L. Anskins, Abner Hamilton, J. Calhoun, Ch. Cunningham, C. A. Campbell, J. G. Simrall, W. W. Hall, J. F. Price, R. Davidson, S. Wilson, R. Stuart, L. W. Dunlap, J. N. Blackburn, A. T. Skillman, J. H. Logan, John Brown, W. B. Redd, Asa Farrar, J. S. Berryman, Dan'l. B. Price, J. L. Tracy, J. M. C. Irwin, A. A. Shannon, James Hawthorn, N. L. Rice, Alfred Hamilton, M. Hardin, Alex. Logan, Chas.

Nourse, M. D. Averil, S. W. Calvert, R. H. Lilly, Eli Smith, D. S. Todd, J. J. Rice, T. Cole, S. Y. Garrison, Chas. Philips, Geo. Poage, T. P. Smith, Andrew Todd:—56.

On motion. *Resolved*, That the whole document as amended be published in the Western Luminary, and that it be recommended to each pastor, and stated supply to read the congregation in which he labors, previous to the next meeting of Synod.

A true extract from the minutes.

Attest: R. DAVIDSON,  
Stated Clerk of Synod.

NAVS—Wm. Wade, Thos. C. Howard, Jas. Bell, J. Harriott, Sam'l. Wallace, A. Cameron, Thos. Smith, Jas. Caldwell:—8.

NON LIQUETS—Thos. Cleland, Sam'l. Lynn, N. A. Thompson, S. V. Marshall, J. Eggen, J. Bemiss, Robt. Hamilton:—7.

## CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society, for the month of October, 1834.

Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.

E. F. Backus, Connecticut,	\$100
George H. Burwell, Virginia,	100
General John H. Cocke, do	100
Rev. Thomas C. Upham, Maine,	100

## Collections from Churches.

Berkeley, Va. Norbonne Parish, by Rev. W. P. C. Johnson,	6 25
Caney Fork, Kentucky, by A. R. Currey,	81
Delaware, by Rev. W. Matchet,	50
Freehold, Monmouth county, N. J. Presbyterian ch. by Rev. D. V. McLean,	8 92
Lewistown and Wayne congregations, by Rev. J. S. Woods,	10
Liberty meeting-house do, by B. Temple,	5 18
Lower Tuscarora Presbyterian church,	8
Maine, Phipsburg, Rev. Mr. Boynton's Society,	7 53
Bath, by Mr. Ellenwood,	20 70
Emanuel Parish, by Rev. Mr. Ten Broek,	8
Woolwich ——— by Rev. Mr. Goss,	8
Sacrapapa, by Mr. Searles,	5
Biddeford, for 1833 and 84, by Mr. Merrill,	5 81
Waterford, by Mr. Douglas,	3 80
Bucksport, by Mr. Blood,	12 81
Minot Auxiliary Society,	6

## Auxiliary Societies.

Albemarle, Va. Female Auxiliary Society,	46
do to make Rev. Nicholas H. Cobbs, of Va. a Life member,	30
Vermont Auxiliary Society, by D. Bateman, Esq. Treasurer,	400

## Donations.

Goodrich, Samuel, sen. Wilkinson Mississippi,	5
Magown, C. B. Centreville, Amite co. do	10
Van Campen, William, Natchez do	10
Wall, Isaac, Centreville do	10
Becraft, Jonathan, Morgan county, Illinois, for the use of his former servant, Thomas Baker, now in the Colony of Liberia,	50
Monies received by R. S. Finley, Agent for the Western District of the United States.	6
From Mrs. Steele \$1; Mr. Job Haines \$2; Mr. Jos. Barnes \$3;	
Collection in Methodist Episcopal church, Madison, Indiana, Rev. L. Smith, Pastor, after an address by R. S. Finley,	7 86
From N. Ferguson, Esq. collected in Pisgah church, Fayette county, Kentucky, Rev. Jacob Price, Pastor,	12 75
J. Bates, collected in 2d Presbyterian church, Cincinnati, after a sermon by Dr. Beecher,	52
Fayette county Colonization Society, by Rev. W. Leary, Treasurer,	26 50
James G. Birney, a balance due the Society,	26
Presbyterian church, Dayton, Ohio, by Rev. Mr. Putnam,	20
do Augusta, Kentucky, by Rev. J. Cole,	10
Christ church, Cincinnati, by Rev. B. P. Aydelot, (and a subscription of \$5 to be paid in books),	20
Winthrop B. Smith, Cincinnati, by Rev. B. P. Aydelot,	10
A little girl in Cincinnati, by Rev. Mr. Spalding, a gold breastpin and cents,	25
James M. Millan, collection in 1st Presbyterian church, Madison, Indiana, by Rev. J. T. Russell,	14 8
African Repository.	
Bledsoe, Richard, Natchez, Mississippi,	9
Foster, Joseph, Woodville, do	10
Patterson, John,	2
Van Campen, William, Natchez, do	6

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AND  
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THE HON. THOMAS SMITH GRIMKE.

THE death of this distinguished and most virtuous man is a public calamity. We do not presume to attempt more than to show ourselves among the mourners on this occasion, and mingle our tears with those of our countrymen. Mr. Grimke has suddenly fallen from the prime of his active and honoured life, and the blow is more felt because unexpected. Happy for the American people to whom his great powers were so constantly and cheerfully devoted, should they by the striking event of his death be excited to consider the truths which he proclaimed only less eloquently by his discourse than example.

Mr. Grimke was an eminent lawyer, a profound scholar, an enlightened statesman, philanthropist and Christian. With manners unassuming, and a meek and childlike spirit, he united independence of thought and force of character. He was a warm and efficient friend of all the great and benevolent institutions of our country. "Had I the power," said he, "to gather into the bosom of our dear country, all the glories of the ancient sculptors, architects and painters, on the condition that such institutions should cease to exist among us, I would hold myself to have sinned a sin never to be forgiven, were I to pause, even for an instant, in the decision. *Those* would indeed make our country a theatre of wonders to the age of taste and science; but these have dedicated her to the service and glory of God, and are daily preparing her more and more, to act with gratitude and honor, that noble part, which becomes a free, a peaceful, an educated, a Christian people."

Mr. Grimke regarded (to use his own words) "*The English Bible, as the religious constitution of Protestant America;*" he believed that Christianity was designed to govern nations as well as individuals. That the Bible would become the "*moral constitution of a world of nations.*" He meditated with holy enthusiasm upon the influence and agency which his own country must exert in extending the empire of liberty and Divine truth. His desires were intense that her sons should enjoy the benefits of the best system of education, and in his view such was that only which best instructed them in DUTY, and best qualified them for USEFULNESS. With original and manly eloquence he urged that the Bible should be adopted as

a text book in every scheme of education, from the primary school to the university; confident that its principles were instinct with the spirit that is to ennoble man, regenerate governments, and exalt states. He was an ardent friend to peace, thinking this had for centuries "*been the lost pleiad in the constellation of the Christian virtues.*" Africa has by the death of Mr. Grimke been deprived of an active and devoted friend. Through his efforts, principally, was the expedition sent from Charleston to Liberia, in December 1832, and the amount of time and labour which he devoted to correspondence in behalf of the emigrants, to the arrangement of their affairs, and to all matters connected with their embarkation, was very great. But we cannot exhibit his merits. It is doubtful, perhaps, whether the loss of any one man would have been more to be regretted. We may add, as was said of another, "His fame is so great, that he stands in no need of an encomium, and yet his worth is much greater than his fame. It is impossible not to speak great things of him, and yet it will be very difficult to speak what he deserves."

The following proceedings are copied from a Charleston paper.

*Tribute of Respect to the Memory of the Hon. Thomas S. Grimke.*

Pursuant to public notice, a numerous meeting of the members of the Bar, was held on Saturday, at 1 o'clock, P. M. in the Federal Court Room. His Honor JUDGE LEE, was called to the Chair, and W. P. FINLEY requested to act as Secretary.

The meeting was opened by an address from the Chairman, in which he announced in a very feeling and impressive manner, the mournful object for which it was convened, and alluded in terms not more glowing than just, to the pure and exalted character which the deceased had sustained in all the relations of life.

The Attorney General, R. Barnwell Smith, Esq. then rose, and after a few appropriate remarks, submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which, being seconded by Charles Fraser, Esq., were unanimously adopted by the meeting.

It is the natural impulse of sympathy, upon even ordinary occasions, that those who suffer a common loss, should seek consolation under their bereavement by commingling their regrets; but when such a man as THOMAS SMITH GRIMKE is suddenly taken from the society in which he was so distinguished an ornament and support, duty as well as sympathy call upon us to express our profound sense of the loss we have sustained.

The deceased, indeed, was no ordinary man, either in his intellectual or moral endowments. The energy—the astonishing energy with which he pursued the objects of life, was at once the indication of superior powers, and the cause of his great success.—He appeared continually to watch the dial-plate of time, that no hour of his existence should be fruitless of improvement or usefulness; and as his life advanced to its close, instead of remitting his habits of toil, his spirit seemed to burn with intenser activity. Hence his wonderful acquisitions in every department of knowledge; whilst he found time, to obey every call of religious, social, or domestic duty. As a lawyer, he had long stood at the head of our profession. It was here, that his vast memory, stored with the rich fruits of his industry, gathered from every side as he passed through life, was more peculiarly exemplified. His legal knowledge was accurate and profound, comprehending the minutest details and the broadest principles. So fertile and original were the resources of his mind, that if he had any fault as an advocate, it was in advancing too many arguments to support his positions. He may thus, sometimes have dazzled a weaker vision by the profusion of light he threw upon his subject, but he never lost a cause from superficial examination or shallow views. In a country, peculiarly a country of laws, he possessed a high sense of the importance and dignity of that profession through which the laws are administered; and endeavoured to wield his knowledge and power to the great purpose for which they were created, the maintenance and advancement of justice. Hence, at the bar and in public estimation, he long stood, and justly stood pre-eminent amongst us.

It has been remarked in England, that lawyers have seldom proved able statesmen. The technical nature of the profession in that country, especially in the branch of special pleading, by habitually contracting the views to "the precedent on the file," may probably account for the fact, if this observation is correct. But under our systems of government and laws, judging from the results, it must be erroneous. The profession of law, at least upon the mind of the deceased, appeared not to have effected its broad and philosophical cast. As a statesman, his views were comprehensive, his knowledge extensive and accurate, and his motives above suspicion or imputation. A purer and more devoted spirit never spoke or felt for the interests of his country. Although living in times of bitter party contention, and differing from many of us upon all the leading subjects of politics, some of us—no man in our community, we sincerely believe, ever entertained a doubt of his simple integrity and disinterestedness in the opinions he professed; or beheld with

other feelings than those of admiration, the boldness with which they were avowed and maintained. His patriotism, in truth, was a part of his piety. Its essential aim was the approbation of God. Towards men, it was an impulse of duty; but it looked beyond the applause and honor of the world, from a deep sense of his accountability for the rectitude of his motives and conduct towards his country.

Nor was the information of the deceased, profound and extensive as it was, confined to the great subject of government and the laws. He was essentially a literary man. At every pause from the labors of his profession, he turned with avidity to the innocent and enchanting pursuits of literature, communing with the mighty dead, still living in the imperishable thoughts they have left behind them. In a country like ours, where capital is not accumulated, and to live, is necessarily the chief object of life, to be a literary man, is itself a distinction. But his aim was far beyond that proficiency in literature which might adorn an accomplished gentleman. He pushed his researches into the wide fields of ancient and modern lore, and became acquainted with all, and familiar with most of their branches. His published productions, evince the accuracy and the extent of his erudition; but it was in the social circles that the affluence of his acquisition was more amply recognized and more justly appreciated. Here, with a prodigal hand, he scattered the flowers he had gathered from every field; and while he delighted, he amazed his associates, by their wonderful variety. But it was chiefly at the bar, that we knew his attainments and felt his virtues. There are few of us who have not drank from the full fountain of his legal acquirements, and learned from the very generosity with which he imparted his information, the effect of knowledge in liberalizing the heart. Plain, yet dignified—patient and affectionate, yet immovable in firmness—offending none, and courteous to all, amidst the contentions and harassments of our difficult profession, he exhibited in his demeanor at the bar, the rare but bright example of what a Christian advocate ought to be. The poor and the friendless, the orphan and the widow, never sought his professional assistance in vain; and it was, when pleading for them, looking upward alone for his reward, that his powers often soared highest, and his eloquence was most touching and effective.

That trait in his character, however, which the deceased most valued, and which he was most truly solicitous to perfect, was his piety. On religion, he had built the whole structure of his moral character; to be worthy of his profession as a Christian, was the chief object of his existence. In early youth, he had assumed the garb of piety, and continued steadfastly through life, one of the brightest props and ornaments of Christianity in our land, exemplifying in his life and conversation all its ennobling principles. From being, according to his own representation, violent in temper, he became the calmest and mildest of men. He bereft himself of all those selfish principles to which we are so prone by nature; and devoted his life to God, and the welfare of others; until at length, to consider himself least, became the ordinary habit of his thoughts and conduct. To do good, indeed, to him seemed the bread of life. His charities were ever ready for the necessitous, and his tender sympathies for the afflicted and bruised in spirit; and even the way-faring man, and the stranger, with no claim upon him but the impress of humanity, would seek relief in his wide benevolence, and have his claim allowed. Had he been otherwise than he was, the prayers and blessings of the wretched whom he relieved, the applause of the good, and the admiration of the world, might have elated him with pride or vanity, but his humility increased with his distinction and elevation; and he closed life as he commenced it, walking meekly and humbly with his God. In his character were combined the simplicity of the child with the moral courage of the martyr.

Shall we lift the veil of private life, and disclose the affectionate son, the devoted husband, the tender father, the faithful friend, the kind and patient master, moving in the light of his noble but simple virtues, and shedding joy and peace, and happiness, to all around him? The memory of his virtues, in these tender relations, belong peculiarly to the keeping of others; and there we should leave them, sacred from our eulogies, enshrined in the hallowed sanctuary of private affection. The days of his pilgrimage are done, and he has entered into his rest. His mild face will no longer be seen amongst us, but the monuments of his public usefulness and benevolence are still with us, and the memory of his virtues will still dwell in our hearts. None of us may expect to equal him; but all of us may grow better and wiser, by recollecting the great and holy man, who once lived and moved amongst us.

*Resolved*, That in the death of THOMAS SMITH GRIMKE the poor and destitute have lost a friend—society a useful member—the bar a distinguished ornament—Christianity a zealous advocate and supporter—and our country at large a learned, able, and patriotic citizen.

*Resolved, therefore*, That the members of the Charleston Bar, in testimony of their profound sense of his virtues, and their deep regret at his decease, do wear mourning for the space of thirty days.

On motion of Joshua W. Toomer, Esq., seconded by M. King, Esq., it was

*Resolved*, That the above preamble and resolutions be published in all the papers of the city, and that a copy thereof, attested by the Chairman and Secretary of the meeting, be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

On motion of H. A. Desaussure, Esq., the meeting was then adjourned.

W. PERONNEAU FINLEY, Secretary.

## EMIGRANTS TO AFRICA.

The Managers of the American Colonization Society have concluded that it would be satisfactory to their friends throughout the Union to see in a tabular view, the number of emigrants which have been shipped to their colony in Africa (over and above re-captured Africans) since its establishment; at what time, and from whence they were sent, and have therefore caused the following to be made and published in the African Repository.

In examining this table, it will be found, that during the years 1831-2-3, the Society sent to Liberia more emigrants than were shipped in the *eleven previous years*, which, it is hoped, will satisfactorily account for the large debt which the Society incurred, in compliance with the pressing applications which were made upon them by emigrants and their friends during those years.

*Emigrants sent to Africa since the Commencement of the American Colonization Society.*

Date.	Names of Vessels.	Virginia.	N. Carol. s.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Maryland.	Dist. Columb.	Pennsylvania.	New York.	Rhode Island.	Kentucky.	Leicesters.	Louisiana.	Mississippi.	Other States.	Native Afr's.	Total.
1820																	
March 9.	Elizabeth	9	-	-	-	2	2	32	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	86
1821																	
March.	Nautilus	24	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32
1822																	
August.	Strong	-	-	-	-	26	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	36
1823																	
May.	Oswego	17	-	-	-	24	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60
1824																	
January.	Cyrus	*103	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	103
Ditto.	Fidelity	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
1825																	
March.	Hunter	48	17	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66
1826																	
February.	Vine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	32	-	-	-	-	-	1†	-	33
March.	Indian Chief	18	118	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	148
1827																	
February.	Doris	8	74	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	92
November.	Ditto	22	-	-	-	65	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	2†	-	104
December.	Randolph	-	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	26
1828																	
January.	Nautilus	7	145	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	164
1829																	
February.	Harriet	132	1	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	150
1830																	
January.	Liberia	45	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	1§	-	58
April.	Montgomery	30	2	-	30	7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
November.	Carolinian	78	1	-	9	9	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	106
December.	Valador	39	41	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	81
1831																	
July.	Criterion	1	19	-	-	4	-	2	-	1	-	18	-	-	-	-	45
October.	Orion	1	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	30
December.	James Perkins	307	32	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	339
1832																	
May.	Jupiter	79	22	19	45	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	170
July.	American	27	89	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	128
November.	Jupiter	37	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	83
December.	Hercules	-	-	156	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4†	-	180
Ditto.	Lafayette	-	-	-	-	146	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	146
Ditto.	Roanoke	98	20	-	2	-	-	6	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	127
Ditto.	American	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
1833																	
November.	Jupiter	49	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Ditto.	Ajax	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	102	44	3	-	-	-	-	-	149
December.	Argus	19	-	-	-	12	24	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58
		119†	582	201	106	387	40	65	70	32	108	55	21	10	8	2	2886

\* 1 from Port au Prince. † Mass. ‡ Delaware. §-Connecticut. || Alabama. ¶ Florida.

### SOME REASONS FOR NOT ABANDONING COLONIZATION.

[From the New-York Observer, September 13, 20, 27.]

1. *If the Colonization Society should be permitted to die now, it might be thought guilty of the sins laid to its charge by Anti-Colonizationists, and thus an indelible stigma be fixed on the American character.*

The Colonization Society has, for many years, been held up, in the view of the whole world, as one of the great benevolent institutions of this country. It has received the public approbation of our most distinguished men, both in church and state. Mr. Birney says, "by the multiplied resolutions of favoring legislatures, of ecclesiastical bodies, with their hundred conventions, assemblies, conferences and associations, it has so far exalted itself into the high places of public sentiment, as itself to constitute public sentiment." The fact that it has purchased a territory and planted a colony on the coast of Africa, compels every writer of geography, and every historian of Africa and of America, to take note of its existence and of its doings; and the information is thus communicated to every school-boy who studies geography or history in every part of the civilized world. There is no benevolent institution in the country so universally known, both at home and abroad, as the American Colonization Society.

Suppose now, in compliance with the advice in Mr. Birney's letter, the society should be abandoned. Men in other countries and other ages would of course, inquire, "Why was it suffered to die?" and how natural it would be for the enemies of the country to point to Mr. Birney's letter, and say, "See there! *Public sentiment* in the United States was so utterly depraved, that this course was rendered necessary, in order to prevent that professedly benevolent institution from becoming the handmaid of slavery, an obstruction to emancipation, an instrument of cruel oppression to the free blacks, and a hindrance to the spread of civilization and Christianity in Africa?" Who that has a particle of patriotic feeling in his bosom would be willing that foreigners should be able to quote any American as authority for placing such a record on the page of history?

And is it possible that any intelligent man can believe that such a record would be true? We will not question the honesty of Mr. Birney, but we will say, if his acquaintance with the character of the American people is so limited, and so unfortunate, that he really holds such an opinion, we can assure him, for his consolation, that there are in this section of the country, thousands and tens of thousands of true-hearted Colonizationists, who are resolved to pour out their money and their prayers, until Liberia, with the blessing of God, is converted into a physical and a moral paradise; until her territory is every where studded with churches, school-houses, and all the institutions which can elevate and adorn the human character; until the coloured man is provided with every facility for the expansion of his mind and soul, to the full limit of the faculties which God has given him; until Africa shall have her Jerusalem, her "Holy city," to which her sons may return with songs of joy, from their long captivity in a foreign land, and from which, hereafter, they may go forth to publish the good news of salvation to all her heathen tribes. The Colonization Society must not die until all this is effected.

2. *Colonization is a powerful means of improving the character of men.*

The people of this country are accustomed to think that colonization in America was the means of greatly improving the character of their ances

tors; and it would be difficult to point to any part of the world where new colonists are not, both intellectually and morally, superior to the people in the old country from whom they sprang. Especially is this the case where any pains have been taken to extend to the new settlement the means of moral and intellectual improvement. The Colony in New South Wales, composed to a great extent of the most degraded class of the British people,—of men and women condemned to transportation for their crimes—is now an industrious, moral, and flourishing community, and bids fair to become the nucleus of a great and respectable nation.

New colonies, from the nature of the case, are favorable to the improvement of the character. In old countries the feelings and habits and institutions of men are fixed, and no change can be made without great difficulty. Abuses that have been growing for centuries and that have become interwoven with the very structure of society cannot be easily eradicated. But young communities, like young plants and young children, can easily be trained to receive any impression you may wish to put upon them.

3. *The evils complained of by the opposers of Colonization, may be remedied, without destroying either the Society or the Colony.*

Admit, for argument's sake, that there are colonizationists in the North who support the Society, not from any benevolent feeling, but merely from a wicked prejudice against the coloured people; admit that there are slaveholders in the South, whose attachment to Colonization arises solely from the wish to get rid of the free blacks, that they may hold their slaves in greater security; admit that there exist between the colonists and the natives in Liberia the same inequality and the same repulsive feeling as between the white man and the negro in this country; admit that the sale of rum and gun-powder in Liberia as an obstacle to the success of the missionary in converting the heathen. Did it never occur to the Anti-Colonizationists that these abuses all spring from avarice and sinful pride, and that these passions are "vincible?" Did it never occur to them that these passions must be encountered and overcome before *any plan* for the emancipation and elevation of the colored people can be successfully executed? Do they expect to persuade *all* the slaveholders in this country to give up their slave-property, and *all* white men to renounce their wicked prejudices; and do they abandon the Colonization Society in utter despair, because some of its professed friends are still under the dominion of avarice and prejudice? Are they looking for the time when all traffic in ardent spirit shall come to an end in this country, and have they so mean an opinion of the capacity of the colored man for moral improvement that they see no prospect that it will ever terminate in Liberia? Do they think it easy for the white man in the United States to place himself in all respects on an equality with the negro, upon whom he has been trampling in scorn and contempt for two centuries, and do they think it entirely impossible to convince men in Liberia of the same race and same color, that it is their duty to treat each other as brethren?

Why cannot Anti-Colonizationists see that the abuses of a benevolent institution may be remedied without destroying the institution itself? Why can they not see that so long as "a large majority" of those who support the institution, are by their own confession, "men of stainless purity of motive," it is wiser to attempt the reformation of the few who are of a different character, than to make their faults a reason for advising the public to "divorce themselves from the institution in all its parts and all its measures."

4. *If Colonization should be abandoned, many Christian slaveholders,*

*who are abolitionists in principle, would be deprived of the power of emancipating their slaves.*

The laws of most of the slave-holding states prohibit emancipation unless the slaves are removed from the state. We know it will be said, "These are wicked laws; they ought to be repealed; they will be repealed when a healthy public sentiment is created; and it is the duty of the Christian slaveholder to do all in his power to create a healthy public sentiment." This is very true, and the Colonizationist may admit it all in perfect consistency with his Colonization principles; but the difference between him and those who oppose him is, that the Colonizationist is not willing to *stop* here. He is not willing to consider his work *done*, when he has finished his declamation on the duty of immediate emancipation. He is so sincere in his desire to see slaves *immediately* emancipated, that he is not willing to *wait* until a complete revolution is effected in the public sentiment of the country. He wishes to emancipate as many as he can *now*; and he wonders that any man, having the feelings of a man, can wish to deprive the Christian slaveholder of the only means (as the case may be) of conferring upon his poor slaves the dearest of earthly blessings.

In advising his countrymen to abandon Colonization "in all its parts and in all its measures," Mr. Birney has incurred a responsibility which we think few good men would be willing to assume. We see not how he can reply to the reproaches of the slaves, who, in consequence of his advice, may be kept in bondage. We see not how he can support his new principles against the arguments and the touching appeals which may be urged by the Christian slaveholder, whose plans of emancipating and elevating his slaves may be thwarted through his instrumentality. Let us imagine an interview between Mr. Birney and such a Christian slaveholder; and as Mr. B. in his letter has chosen the form of a dialogue between himself and a heterodox Colonizationist, to illustrate the heartlessness of what he terms "Colonization principles," he will excuse us for adopting the form of a dialogue between himself and an orthodox Colonizationist, to illustrate the cruelty of the Anti-Colonizationism which he now advocates.

*Christian Slaveholder.* I am the owner, Mr. Birney, of fifty slaves, whose value in the market is about \$10,000. By the laws of Carolina they are my property; but I am a Christian, and I feel the obligations of the command, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." I am resolved, therefore, to emancipate them, and as the laws of the State will not allow me to do it here, I am resolved to put them under the care of the Colonization Society, that they may be sent to Liberia.

*Mr. Birney.* Have you made them acquainted with the condition of Liberia, and are they willing to remove thither?

*Christian Slaveholder.* Yes. I have taken great pains to obtain correct information respecting the condition and prospects of the colony, and have frankly communicated the whole to the slaves. I have also made them acquainted with all the laws of this State which bear upon their condition, and with the laws and state of society in the free States at the North and West. I have assured them too that if they choose to remain with me, I shall endeavour to treat them, so long as they are under my control, with the kindness which the gospel requires; but they know that in case of death or misfortune they must pass into other hands, and that their children can have no security that their lot will be in any respect better than that of other slaves. After carefully considering the whole matter, they have, therefore, made up their minds to go to Liberia. The expense of their removal will be \$1,500, and for this I must depend entirely on the Colonization Society; but our friends at the North will doubtless contribute this

small sum, and thus secure the liberty and happiness of fifty of the poor men for whom they feel and are constantly expressing so much Christian sympathy.

*Mr. Birney.* You may be disappointed in the aid you expect from the North. The philanthropists of the North are beginning to take more enlarged views of their duty, in regard to slavery; and some of them have already abandoned the colonization scheme for the more sublime enterprise of "immediate and universal emancipation."

*C. S.* Surely, with these enlarged feelings, they will not hesitate a moment to give the trifle that is necessary to secure immediate liberty to my fifty slaves!

*Mr. B.* There, I repeat it, you may be disappointed. The philanthropists of the new school aim only at *universal* emancipation. They will not give a cent to secure the emancipation of your fifty slaves, for that would be a *partial* and *particular* act, while their object is to abolish *all* slavery.

*C. S.* It is an axiom in geometry that the whole is made up of all its parts; if we can only contrive to get rid of the parts of slavery we may find in the end that we have got rid of the whole of it. It is an old maxim too, that if we cannot do what we would, we should at least do what we can.

*Mr. B.* These, sir, are "colonization principles;" they belong to an age that has gone by; they are altogether too tame to satisfy the bold and uncompromising spirit of a true reformer. Slavery will never be abolished by men who hold such principles.

*C. S.* I am a practical man, Mr. Birney. I have thought of the subject of slavery chiefly in relation to personal duty, and particularly my own duty to my own slaves. With my colonization principles, I am an emancipationist; because I see clearly that emancipation with colonization will be a great practical blessing to my slaves, and in acting on these principles I see that I am fulfilling the great law of Christian love—that I am treating them as I would that they in like circumstances should treat me. But if I abandon colonizationism, what shall I do, for the law you know will not allow me to emancipate them here.

*Mr. B.* Use your influence to procure a repeal of the law.

*C. S.* That I shall do whether I abandon colonizationism or not. But it may be many years—it may be half a century—before we can succeed in procuring the repeal of the law. Meanwhile, what am I to do with my slaves?

*Mr. B.* Why, if the law makes them bond-men, that you know is not your fault. You can quiet your conscience by a mental renunciation of the right of property.

*C. S.* Mental renunciation of the right of property! What practical benefit will such a renunciation confer upon my slave? Will it save him from the penalties imposed by our slave code? Will it authorize me to teach him to read and write? If I am unfortunate in business, will it prevent him from being sold at auction to pay my debts? If I die, will it keep him from going to my heirs? Will not he and his children still be liable at every turn, to fall into the hands of a cruel master? Do you seriously think, Mr. Birney, that I could retain my slave, and satisfy my conscience with a mental renunciation of the right of property, if I knew that I had it in my power to place him in a country where he and his children would be free, and where all his interests would be under the guardian care of a benevolent society, composed of some of the best men in this country? Which course is the most consistent with the law of love—that which you recommend, or that adopted by the friends of colonization?

Think, Mr. Birney, what it is to be a *slave*—to be treated not as a man, but as a personal chattel, a thing that may be bought and sold—to have no right to the fruits of your own labor—no right to your own wife and your own children—liable at any moment to be separated, at the arbitrary will of another, from your dearest relatives and friends—deprived by law of all opportunity of cultivating your intellect—refused the privilege of even learning to read the Bible—compelled to know that the purity of your wife and daughters is exposed, without protection of law, to the assaults of brutal white men! Think of this, and of all the nameless horrors that are concentrated in that one word, *slavery*, and then say, Mr. Birney, will you still advise the people of the North to abandon colonization? Will you advise them to deprive me of the power of rescuing fifty of my fellow-men from such calamities? Will you deprive other Christian slaveholders, situated as I am, of the power of rescuing thousands? Will you take the responsibility of dooming these thousands to all the miseries of the condition we have described, until you can effect a total revolution in the social and civil condition of six millions of men!

5. *Colonization causes the subject of slavery to be discussed AT THE SOUTH, in a manner calculated to produce the happiest effects on the cause of emancipation.]*

Anti-colonizationists are agitating the subject of slavery *at the North*, where there is no slavery, and where the anti-slavery feeling is so strong, that it frequently manifests itself in language which requires rather reproof than encouragement. No wise man acquainted with the pulse of the nation on the subject of slavery would think of applying *stimulants at the North*.

But Colonization awakens inquiry, discussion and action *at the South*, where action is wanted. Every Christian slaveholder, who emancipates his slaves, and sends them to Liberia, remains ever afterwards a standing monument of the triumph of Christian principle over selfish interest—a constant, living reproof to all who still retain their fellow-men in bondage. All the neighbours of such a man, and all who become acquainted with his history, are compelled to know that he has impoverished himself, because his conscience could not tolerate slavery; they see in his noble sacrifices the very best evidence of his sincerity, and they cannot fail to inquire, whenever they see him or think of him, “Is it right to hold men in slavery?”

Of what force, comparatively, would be the example of this slaveholder, if he were obliged to confine himself (as Anti-colonizationists recommend) to a *mental renunciation* of the right of property in his slaves—a renunciation, which the law would treat as a nullity, and which might be mentally retracted, at any moment, without the knowledge of the community. From the nature of the case how is it possible that such a renunciation could have an effect equal to that of actual emancipation.

Finally, we may ask, how many Anti-slavery Societies and Anti-slavery periodicals at the North will it take to produce the same happy effect on public sentiment at the South, which may be produced by the example of one distinguished Christian slaveholder who sacrifices his whole property by sending his slaves to Liberia? And yet, the first thing, the great thing, and hitherto almost the only thing, aimed at by these societies and periodicals, has been to destroy the only institution which enables us to present such examples to the people of the South!

6. *It is possible for the American people of the present generation to esta-*

*blish colonies in Africa, which will diffuse the light of civilization and Christianity over the whole of that continent.*

All will admit that to Christianize Africa is a glorious enterprise; and if it can be accomplished by colonization, no philanthropist, and especially no Christian, will say that colonization ought to be lightly abandoned. And can it not be accomplished by colonization? What stands in the way? It is certain that territory to an almost unlimited extent can be procured from the natives of Africa at a very moderate expense. Let then Colonization Societies continue to purchase territory and select the most eligible spot for settlement—let them clear the lands, divide them into farms, erect comfortable dwellings and barns, provide agricultural implements, and multiply comforts and conveniences of every kind, till they can offer these farms to actual settlers on such terms as will tempt 100,000 of the sober and industrious colored men of this country to go to Liberia and occupy them; let care be taken to send out with every company of emigrants a schoolmaster for every 100 children, and an evangelical colored minister, (well educated in some seminary established for the purpose in this country) for every 1,000 souls; let benevolent individuals and societies endow schools and colleges in the colonies, supply every family with Bibles and Tracts, support temperance agents, and keep all the machinery of moral reform in constant motion—and what is to prevent these 100,000 from growing by natural increase, like the first settlers of this country, in twenty-five years to 200,000; in fifty years to 400,000, and in two hundred years to 12 or 15,000,000 free, enlightened Christians, constituting at the end of that time a nation as numerous and powerful as the people of the United States now are, and exerting in every period of its history, through its missionary and other benevolent societies, the most salutary influence over Africa?

Why is not all this possible? The Anti-colonizationist will say, perhaps, "if the people are treated as they ought to be treated in this country, 100,000 of them could never be induced to go to Liberia." But why not? If a company of benevolent men were to purchase a territory in Illinois or Missouri, cut it up into farms, clear the land, and every where put up school-houses and meeting-houses at convenient distances, could they not offer these farms on terms that would tempt 100,000 New-Englanders to quit their native mountains and emigrate thither? Are not New-Englanders, in fact, constantly emigrating to the West by thousands without any such temptation? And do these emigrants leave their native country because they are cruelly treated there? Do they not merely change a good country for one which, on the whole, is more eligible. And may we not treat the colored people as they ought to be treated in this country, and still offer them sufficient inducements to emigrate to Liberia?

Perhaps it will be said that the people of this country will never voluntarily contribute the large sums which will be wanted to clear the land, build the houses, and provide the other conveniences necessary to tempt 100,000 colored people to Africa. Why not? Suppose that the sum wanted should be \$100 for every man, woman, and child, or \$500 for every family; (and surely there are colored men enough in the United States who could be tempted by \$500 to take up their residence in such a country as Liberia would be on the plan proposed,) even at this rate the whole sum wanted would be only \$10,000,000. And is it visionary to expect from the people of this country the voluntary contribution of \$10,000,000 for the accomplishment of all the glorious objects embraced in the establishment of the proposed colony? This objection comes with an ill grace from anti-colonizationists. They are expecting to persuade *one-third* part of the people of the United States, (and that part the *slave-holders*!—

men whom they often denounce as destitute of all Christian and truly generous feeling,) voluntarily and instantly to surrender property to the value of \$500,000,000! If it is not extravagant to expect this, it certainly is not extravagant to expect that *the whole* nation may contribute for the promotion of a cause equally glorious, \$10,000,000—which is only *one fiftieth part, or four months' interest*, of the sum to be sacrificed by the *slaveholders!*

But Mr. Birney will say, the colonization of America did not Christianize the natives of America, and there is no reason, therefore, to believe that the Colonization of Africa will Christianize Africa. We are surprised that Mr. B. should suffer himself to build arguments on such loose analogies. What resemblance is there in the two cases? The colonists and natives in America were men of different colors and different races. In the English colonies they did not amalgamate, and the natives there melted away before the whites; but wherever the two races have amalgamated, as they have in Mexico and many parts of South America, the mixed race have uniformly adopted the manners and religion of the white man. Can any man doubt that the colonists and natives in Africa will amalgamate—men of the same color and of the same race, and who can trace themselves to a common ancestry, by going back, in most cases, *less than one century!* There can be no doubt on this point, and if Christians in this country and in the colony do not wholly neglect their duty, there can be no doubt that the united race will adopt the manners and religion of the colonists.

Admit, however, for argument's sake, that the cases of Africa and America are in all respects parallel. Let now Mr. Birney throw himself back in history for two centuries; let him imagine himself in Great Britain, in 1620, and let the problem be proposed to him, How can North America be filled in the speediest manner with a civilized and Christian people? Would he say, 'Forbid all white men from landing on its shores, except Christian missionaries!' How many civilized men and Christians would there have been in America at the present day, if this course had been pursued, taking the success of British Christians, meanwhile, in converting other portions of the heathen world, as the criterion of what they would have done for North America? Will not even Mr. Birney admit that the American colonists, (shamefully as they have neglected their duty) have probably employed more missionaries among the Indians, and have done more for their conversion, than would have been done by the parent country if no colonies had been planted? Will he not admit that, taking whites and Indians together, the number of Christians in North America at the present time, is greater than it would have been if his missionary plan had been adopted? Will he not admit, that in a little more than three centuries, from the landing of the pilgrims on the rock at Plymouth, there will be in North America 200,000,000 Protestant Christians, as the fruits of the plan of colonization! Can he believe that any results of equal importance would have followed the efforts of Christian missionaries laboring alone among bands of savages? Will he not admit, then, that on the whole, the plan of colonization may have been the best mode of spreading civilization and Christianity in North America? And if the cases of North America and Africa are in all material respects parallel, as his argument supposes, is it not possible that, on the whole, Colonization may be the best mode of diffusing civilization and Christianity in Africa?

## PROFESSOR STOWE ON COLONIZATION.

*Sketches of Professor Stowe's remarks at a meeting in behalf of the American Colonization Society, held in the Second Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati, on the evening of June 9th, 1834.*

MR. CHAIRMAN,—I am not accustomed to speak in public, except on subjects connected with my own profession, and nothing would have induced me to appear before this assembly on the present occasion, but the conviction that great injustice has been done to the friends of the American Colonization Society. I have for some time been acquainted with the Society, and have always supposed that its intentions were benevolent, and its influence beneficial; nor have I yet reason to change my opinion. Many are now zealously engaged in laboring to destroy public confidence in this institution, and with some of the men who are thus engaged, I am personally acquainted, and I know them to be men of intelligence, integrity and Christian feeling; but on this point it seems to me that they have sorely misjudged. To illustrate the nature of the hostility to which I refer, I will make a few extracts from recent publications. When speaking of a late document of the managers respecting the debt of the society, one writer expresses himself as follows:

"We need only extract from this document that part which relates directly to the debt, to show to every man who unites *honestly* with a moderate share of intelligence, that the society is still conducted, as it has been, with a *total want of principle*."—*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 1, p. 50.

Another writer has these remarks:

"The Superstructure of the Colonization Society rests upon the following pillars: 1. Persecution. 2. Falsehood. 3. Cowardice. 4. Infidelity. If I do not prove the Colonization Society to be a creature without heart, without brains, useless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless, unjust, then nothing is capable of demonstration. W. L. GARRISON."

In the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. 1, p. 49, I find the following:

"But if they could make Liberia a paradise, the plan would be liable to two objections. 1. It would involve a despair of gaining a victory over prejudice here. 2. It would involve an immense waste of labor in doing that at a distance, which could be done more easily at home." Again on the same page:

"We regard the Colonization scheme, under whatever modifications, and by whosoever advocated: as but the out-breaking of that spirit of slavery which rivets the chains of two millions of our brethren. In saying this, we do not as a matter of course, impeach the motives of all those who advocate it. Some there are who may be permitted to save their benevolence at the expense of their wisdom."

Notwithstanding this sweeping denunciation and its *saving clause*, I must still say that I am a friend to the Colonization Society; and yet no friend to slavery, and neither a knave nor a dupe; at least, I hope not.

I have endeavored to make myself acquainted with the objections which conscientious men feel against the Colonization Society; and if I understand them, they may all be comprised under the following:

1st. Its undertaking is chimerical:

2d. It is founded in prejudice.

3d. It encourages and tends to perpetuate slavery.

4th. It obstructs the elevation and improvement of the colored people in this country.

I am certain that these objections do not lie against any scheme of Colonization which I am interested to defend.

The principles on which I advocate colonization are the following:

1. I regard it as a necessary means of immediate relief from the miseries of slavery, where nothing else can afford relief:

I will illustrate this principle by an example. In the year 1776 the Friends in the United States declared slavery to be inconsistent with the principles of christianity; and prohibited it among members of their body. Many of this denomination at that time held slaves in states where the education of the blacks and their emancipation upon the soil were forbidden by law. The Friends of the yearly meeting of North Carolina, including a part of Tennessee and Virginia, amounting to seven or eight thousand in number, petitioned the Legislature of North Carolina for permission to emancipate their slaves. It was refused. They continued to press the Legislature with petition after petition for *forty years*, and with no better success. They at length, without law, emancipated their slaves upon the soil, and of those emancipated slaves more than one hundred were taken up and sold into perpetual and hopeless bondage, under the laws of the state. Emancipation on the soil was plainly impossible in the existing state of public feeling. They contrived to put their slaves out of their hands that they might no longer hold them as private property, by transferring them to the trustees of their society, by whom they were nominally held as public property. But this course exposed them to vexatious and expensive law suits, and the society was sued for the recovery of more than forty slaves held in this manner. As the only possible remedy left, they have for ten years past expended more than \$20,000, in procuring asylums for one thousand of their slaves in the free states, as

Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, in Hayti, whither they have sent 119, and in Liberia.—At length the free states were shut against them. They applied to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, but in vain. No place seemed open but Canada, and that is too cold for blacks born in North Carolina. About two years since, they embarked one hundred of their liberated slaves for Pennsylvania. They were refused a landing in the state. They went over to New Jersey. The same refusal met them there. They were then left to float up and down the Delaware river without a spot of dry land to set their feet upon, till the Colonization Society took them up and gave them a resting place in Liberia.

They have now five hundred slaves left, whom they are anxious to liberate; and what shall they do? Get the laws of the state altered? They labored after that for forty years, and more than one whole generation of black men died in bondage while their masters were striving to effectuate *immediate emancipation*. IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION they found to be *so slow a process* that they were obliged to resort to COLONIZATION, in order that something might be done *immediately*. And in such instances, what possible mode of *immediate relief* is there except colonization? Shall they resist the laws of the state?—This would be contrary to the principles of Quakerism: and on this point at least, the unlawfulness of aggressive resistance even to legalized oppression, the wrongfulness of destroying human life for the attainment of any political purpose—on this point I must conceive that Quakerism is christianity.

Does colonization, founded on this principle, encourage slavery, or obstruct the improvement of the negro race? Is it chimerical, or founded in prejudice? It may be said, indeed, that the oppressive laws are founded in prejudice, but is it prejudice that induces us to aid the oppressed in escaping from those laws? And even supposing it were so; should a man in distress reject the only means of relief, for an apprehension that he who proffers the relief, or some one else, with whom he is in some way connected, entertains a prejudice against him? To illustrate my reasoning by an analogous example. At present the Jews in Persia are exposed to the most cruel oppression, while the emperor of Russia indulges them with peculiar privileges. If now an association should be formed in Persia, to relieve the Jews from their sufferings, and aid them in emigrating to Russia, and some friends of the Jews should rise up and say: 'Do not go to Russia, it is mere prejudice that occasions your sufferings, and the same prejudice actuates the members of the *emigration society*; therefore stay here and be quiet;' would such a procedure be thought indicative of the wisdom of benevolence? If the opposers of emigration had it in their power to change the spirit of the government, or if any good purpose could be effected by the Jews remaining in Persia, which could not be effected otherwise, then indeed there would be more reason to oppose their emigration; but I much fear that generation after generation of the oppressed Israelites would groan and wither and perish under their sufferings, while their disinterested friends were effecting an immediate change in their favor.

2. I approve of colonization, because I suppose it to be necessary as a preliminary step to emancipation.

People in slave-holding communities generally regard slavery as an evil, but an evil which has grown so interwoven with the texture of society, that disruption would be a greater calamity, than slavery itself. They are apt to think with themselves, 'either that we or the SLAVES must be sacrificed. We are the superiors; it is, therefore, reasonable that the slaves should be kept in ignorance and subjection, in order to prevent a much greater evil.' With them, accordingly, slavery is a prohibited topic; they will enter into no argument, they will hear no reason on the subject, unless in connection with some plan by which their own safety can be secured, while the rights of the slave are restored. Colonization affords such a plan, and in connection with colonization the whole subject of slavery can be introduced and discussed, without awakening fears and exciting prejudices which preclude conviction. This is the great thing necessary to produce universal emancipation. On this point I will introduce the testimony of a gentleman familiar with this whole subject, and a zealous friend of emancipation. I refer to the Rev. Mr. Young, president of the college at Danville, Ky. and president also of the Emancipation Society in that state. In a letter to a gentleman in this city, he observes: 'I speak that which I know, when I say that the Colonization Society has done immense service to the cause of emancipation in our state.' (Ken.) 'There is not an intelligent man in the State, but will bear me out in this declaration, that we are much further advanced on the road to emancipation, than we could have been, if the Colonization Society had never existed.'

The Colonization Society has already produced the emancipation of not far from three thousand slaves, and the education and consequent elevation of hundreds. By this means the negro character is vindicated, and the deep and damning wrong of slavery illustrated; for it is my firm conviction, that it is a sort of half persuasion that the negro was made for slavery, and is fit for nothing else, is the great thing that makes men of principle quiet in the possession of slaves. Let them see that the negroes are really men, and they cannot bring their consciences to grind into the earth and brutify by slavery the intelligent souls and the immortal spirits of their fellow men.

In advocating colonization on this principle, is there any thing chimerical, or prejudiced, or encouraging to slavery, or adverse to the improvement of the colored race?

3. I am in favor of colonization, because I suppose it to be right, and agreeable to God's

design, that the different races of men should continue to be distinct, and each reside in the climate best adapted to their physical and intellectual development.

In all animals the physical organization is adapted to the climate and modes of life appropriate to each; and with a great change of these, either the physical organization changes, or the race degenerates, and finally becomes extinct. All men are descended from the same common stock; and all differences among them are the results of the cause above-mentioned. These differences are no greater than changes which have been known to take place in other animals, extensively migratory, such as the dog, the sheep, &c.—Blumenback selects the swine as affording instances of variety nearly as great as that which exists in the human species. In Normandy this animal is almost perfectly white, and the stiff bristles are exchanged for a warm coat of nearly the softness of hair. In the year 1519, the first swine were carried by the Spaniards to the Island of Guba; and now the swine of that Island, though all descended of the common species, are of twice the usual size, and with a solid instead of divided hoof. There are differences equally great in the bones of this animal, as the cranium, legs, &c.; as found in different climates and different modes of life.

Man resists changes of this kind more effectually than any other animal; still they have an influence upon him. A man of English descent, of second or third generation, in a tropical climate, unless his physical structure has been in some degree changed, has not the capacities and energies of an Englishman of the temperate regions. The woolly hair and dark skin are evidently adapted to warm climates; and those are the situations for the physical and intellectual development of the negro race. Where shall we find the most favorable exhibitions of the negro character? In the cold regions of the north? or in Egypt and Ethiopia? in Carthage and Morocco? in the West Indies and Brazil?

They need not go to Africa, to find a place fitted for their residence, unless they choose to do so; there are places enough on this continent, and within the limits of the United States, should it be found expedient and for their advantage that they should remain here. The Colonization Society advocates no coercive removal; and I am for having the rights of the black man fully recognized on this soil, and then leaving it to his own free choice, whether to emigrate or not.

Should the two races ever become entirely equal, and should there remain no accidental associations of superiority or degradation connected with the external physical differences, I have not a doubt that they would harmoniously and entirely withdraw from each other on the principle of *elective affinity*. A desire to tyrannize over inferiors, or to associate with superiors, may hold the two races together while this *unnatural* distinction exists; but let it be removed, and without prejudice or hatred, each will have a *simple preference* for its own kind.

These are the principles on which I defend colonization; and if the American Colonization Society, as such, acts on principles in any way contrary to these, let me see the evidence of the fact, and I will no longer be its friend; but while it has such principles and such purposes in view, nothing shall induce me to join in the crusade against it.

True, it has nothing to do with the emancipation of slaves, and it ought not to have.—This would but encumber and impede its operations. Let there be other associations to promote the great and good work of emancipation; but let not the Colonization Society deviate from its specific, definite and good purpose of helping those colored people to Africa, who wish to go there. It is essential to success and usefulness, that every institution pursue its own peculiar, specific object, without intermeddling with others. Why should theological seminaries make it a prominent object of pursuit, to prevent the explosion of steamboat boilers? This is undoubtedly a good object, but not exactly appropriate to theological institutions.

Having spoken thus far in behalf of colonization, I must be permitted to add, that I have sometimes heard things said by colonization men, and seen things published in colonization documents, which I by no means approve, and which do not accord with the sentiments of those colonizationists with whom I sympathize. A few words on these points and I will close.

1. I do not advocate colonization, because I suppose the prejudice against the colored people in this country to be either justifiable or invincible.

"God hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth;" and when Bishop Meade said that the colored people were created in the image of God, *in some respects*, I doubt not but he meant they are the image of God, *in as many respects* as the white people are. The prejudice which exists in this country against the negro race has no good foundation; neither nature, nor religion, nor humanity sanction it. There is nothing in the physical or intellectual nature of the negro, that can be offensive to the man unperverted by early and wicked associations.

History gives full testimony that this prejudice against the negro color and features has no foundation in nature. The ancient Egyptians and Ethiopians were clearly of the black race. Herodotus affirms that the Colchians must have been descended from the Egyptians, "because," says he, "they have black skins and frizzled hair;" and Buckhardt affirms that the Ethiopians are distinguishable from the negroes of the interior of Africa, not by the color of hair, but by the superior beauty of their forms, and the greater softness

of their skins. (Herodotus, b. ii. c. 505. Modern Traveler, c. xxvi. p. 235.) Did Herodotus feel any repugnance to these ancient nations on account of their color? No, he celebrates the Egyptians as the greatest of men, and the civilizers of the world, and twice mentions the Ethiopians as the largest and the most beautiful of men. (B. iii. c. 20, 114.) Homer bears a similar testimony respecting the Ethiopians, and makes them the favorites of the gods. (Odyss. b. i. l. 22, f. Iliad. b. i. l. 423, f.) In the minds of these noble old Greeks, the black skin and woolly hair, instead of being associated with the meanness and misery of slavery, were associated with that which is noble in civilization, and respectable in learning, and delightful in the arts, and splendid in military achievements. The descendant of Ham, though he has been for ages a *servant of servants to his brethren*, was the first to light the lamp of science to the world, and rear those stupendous works of art, the remains of which, after so many centuries, astonish even those who have been accustomed to all that Greek and Roman and modern art can achieve. The negro is not, in any respect, inferior to the white man, and in appropriate circumstances, he might again rise to the rank which he anciently held. Notwithstanding the iron bondage which has oppressed him in modern times, and paralyzed his energies, the occasional superiority of individuals shows that the race has not lost its place among the human species. The talents and attainments of Lislet, of Arno; of Derham, of New-Orleans; of Toussaint and Christophe were enough to extort the admiration of the most prejudiced.

Men always hate and despise those whom they oppress, and thus attempt to cheat and silence conscience. It is because the negro has been oppressed, that he is hated and despised. The Jews were for ages the objects of bitter oppression in Europe, and were then hated and despised; while their distinctive features and peculiar modes of life marked them out for insult and abuse. It is but little more than fifty years, since a rich Jew in Germany contributed largely to the rebuilding of a village that had been destroyed by fire, and having occasion to pass that way two years after, he was forbidden to enter the village, because the inhabitants would not have their soil polluted by the step of an Israelite. I am not informed whether the village was called CANTERBURY, but I am sure that it deserves as high a note in the trumpet of fame. During the wars of Bonaparte, the Jews became rich, and in some instances got possession of the lands and mansions of the nobility. The populace were enraged to see the hated Jews thus prosperous; and in the year 1820 they rose at Meningen, at Wurtsburg on the Rhine, at Hamburg, and Copenhagen, and murdered many of them in cold blood, and the utmost efforts of the magistrates and the military scarcely saved them from a general massacre. This prejudice against Jews seems quite unaccountable to us; but it has exactly the same foundation with our prejudice against negroes. It is founded in oppression and wickedness. The prejudice against the negro arises from oppression and wickedness, it is itself wickedness, and therefore it is neither justifiable nor invincible. I will never admit an argument which rests on the perpetuity of human wickedness, I will not believe that there is an evil in the human heart, which the gospel cannot cure.

But this prejudice, unjust and wicked as it is, will not be subdued at once; nor will the negro find *immediate emancipation* from the oppression of public sentiment. I am not sure that it will require any less time and effort and expense to subdue this prejudice and bring up the race to their proper standing in the face of it, than it would to furnish a distant asylum for them all, and transport and provide for them there. I am thankful that this prejudice is not universal and unbroken. By the constitutions of twelve of the U. States, Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New-York, (if they are freeholders,) New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, N. Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, black men are allowed to vote and are eligible to office. In a city of New-England I have known a negro to be elected to a city office for several years in succession, by the suffrages of the citizens; I have known three black men, Russwurm, of Bowdoin College, Mitchell of Dartmouth, and Jones of Amherst, to study without insult, and graduate with honor in three different New England colleges; and I once myself introduced a black man (a Mr. Butler, of Canada) to the students of Dartmouth college, whom he wished to address; and they listened to him with the utmost decorum and attention and sympathy. Would to heaven that such incidents were more frequent.

2. I do not advocate colonization because I suppose it to be an adequate remedy for slavery, much less the only remedy.

The pecuniary interests and the prejudices of the white man are not the only things to be regarded; but the natural and inalienable rights, the long-continued and cruel wrongs of the black man, also claim our attention and our sympathy. Many of them choose to remain in this country, and they are needed, especially in the Southern parts of our Union.

I suppose that emancipation is safe, and that the negroes can easily be made capable of taking care of themselves. Many of them certainly do maintain themselves, bring profit to their masters, and pay from six hundred to one thousand dollars for the purchase of their freedom; and if they can do this, they can surely maintain themselves and families when their freedom is given them. In every instance, I believe, where emancipation has taken place, it has been found safe, and mutually a benefit to the master and slave. Emancipation is safe; but who have the right or the power to emancipate? Certainly, they who

have slaves, and they only; but as the whole country has participated in the guilt (and gains, if any there are) of slavery, it seems to me no more than right that the whole country should share the expenses of emancipation.

Slavery is unmixed evil; it is all abomination; there is no good connected with it, either to the master or the slave; and the more society advances, the more intolerable does slavery become. This evil must come to an end, or we as a nation must perish; and the only question is, how can the business be brought to a close with the least injury and the greatest amount of good, to all concerned?

In respect to the colony at Liberia, we hear very contradictory statements. Evils undoubtedly exist, such as attend all new settlements, and some perhaps which are peculiar; but I have not yet seen evidence that the colonists have suffered half the calamities which attended the early settlement of New-England, of Virginia, or of this western country. I suppose that all the evils which exist are susceptible of remedy, and that the Society is able and willing to apply the remedy; otherwise, I would say, let Liberia be abandoned, and a better place provided, and better plans pursued. The good of the black man, and not merely the pecuniary interests of the white man, is the object aimed at by the Colonization Society; and I will never knowingly raise my hand or utter a word in favor of any scheme of colonization in which this great object is lost sight of, or holds only a subordinate place.

The good, the permanent and highest good of both classes of the community, the white and the black, is to be secured; and to secure the good of both, should be the object of all our plans and efforts.—*Cincinnati Journal*.

### BRITISH AND FOREIGN SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

[ From the Philadelphia Presbyterian, Oct. 16, 1834.]

*To the Editor of the Presbyterian,*

SIR:—I enclose for insertion in your valuable journal, the following extraordinary document. It is my purpose for the present, rather to spread it out before the American people, and let it speak for itself, than to give a minute review. The following hints, however, indicate some of its unhappy, not to say unwarrantable and dangerous features.

1. The paper throughout, displays the most puerile, and for *Reformers*, unpardonable ignorance of the true state of the question, in the United States.

2. The arrogant claims of these foreigners are even ludicrous. They claim the credit of having greatly contributed to excite the public mind in our Northern States, on the subject of slavery. So far as visionary schemes and violent measures have been adopted, they may perhaps take the credit of their projection; but Christianity and American principles have, under God, done the actual good that has been done for the poor slave, and the degraded freeman of color. On the other hand, there is no question that the foreign emissaries, who have recently arrived in this country, uniting with the *Garrisons* in America, have retarded, for almost one generation, the cause of African freedom and elevation in the United States.

3. The unjustifiable officiousness of the spirit manifested in this document, will meet a merited rebuke, as it must excite an honest indignation, in every American bosom. The British nation first made us *slaveholders*; next, she tried to put fetters on us. We have taught her a lesson which she ought not to forget. Let her try her Reform on India, and Ireland, and her unhappy and oppressed millions at home, before she begins her rash knight errantry on our shores, and creates discord and indiscreet zeal among our population.

4. This paper, with its plans and results, seals the fate of the present system of *Abolition* in the United States. Nothing more is wanting to prove to every American citizen, that Abolitionism, as opposed to the practicable plan of gradual emancipation, is *reckless* of all consequences;

and when these rash men invite British men and British gold "TO AGITATE" our country, let them know that, by the act, they declare war against our social relations, our constitution, and our nation itself. Mr. Garrison has done this *openly*, both in England and in this country.

5. Let the friends of the black man, the friends of their country, the friends of order and of Christ, be wise, faithful, and united, and the present crisis will unfold, freedom to the slave, a Christian empire to Africa, and deliverance to our country from the greatest of all evils, and of all sins.

AN ABOLITIONIST OF THE OLD SCHOOL.

*Circular Letter of the British and Foreign Society for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery, and the Slave Trade, to the Anti-Slavery Associations, and the Friends of Negro Emancipation throughout the United Kingdom.*

It has long been the subject of anxious consideration among many of the friends of Negro Emancipation, how far it is expedient to continue those associations which were established during the colonial controversy, to promote the Anti-Slavery feeling of the country.

It was felt on the one hand, that although this great question has been set at rest, probably for ever, so far as respects Slavery in our own Colonies, yet, that the imperfect manner in which the measure of abolition has been introduced and carried, leaves too much room to fear, that further exertions may still be necessary for the full establishment of the Negro in his acknowledged rights, and for his protection in the enjoyment of them hereafter. It was also considered, that while slavery exists under the sanction of any civilized state, the moral influence of Great Britain ought to be powerfully exerted to effect its utter and immediate extinction—that the deep conviction of religious duty that prompted us to the course which we successfully followed at home, should impel us to similar zeal and exertion, in the use of every legitimate means to attain the same end abroad. *Slavery, wherever it exists, is the same moral deformity, the same crime before God; and ought to be viewed with detestation, and reprobated with boldness, by every man who professes to act on Christian principles.*

On the other hand, it could not be denied, that the unparalleled exertions made by the Anti-Slavery public during the last two years, were too great to be readily continued, when the personal interest of the question had subsided; nor would it be reasonable to expect a further sacrifice of money, as well as of time and labor, from those who had already done their utmost to acquit their country of its share of guilt. In fact, many who were most anxious to extend the operation of British benevolence to other Slave-holding countries, were not less reluctant to appear encroaching on the generosity of their fellow-subjects, and to make a second appeal to the liberality of those, whose means, so far as they were reasonably applicable to a distinct and peculiar object of charity, seemed almost exhausted.

While these conflicting considerations rendered it difficult to decide on which side the path of duty lay, circumstances have occurred both in this country and in America, which have determined the Agency Anti-Slavery Committee in their course.

It appears that in the northern States of the Union, a very powerful interest in behalf of the slave has lately been excited. It may be expedient to advert to some facts connected with American Slavery, not generally known to the British public, although many of them have appeared in recent publications.

Slavery obtains in America to a far greater extent, and in some respects, in a far more degraded form, if possible, than it assumed in our own Colonies. It is confined to the States below 36 degrees N. latitude, but the number of slaves below this limit, exceeds two millions. In some places, (as South Carolina for example) education is prohibited by law, and a free person of color cannot enter the territory. Slave evidence is wholly inadmissible, except against each other. Trial by jury, even in capital cases, is denied; and, as the necessary consequence of such a system, the most barbarous usage is the rule, and kindness the rare exception. Cruelty, starvation, separation of families, and all the crimes in that black catalogue of oppression, with which we are at length familiar, prevail, with this peculiar and monstrous aggravation, that the Slave *cannot* be made free! Such is the well founded jealousy entertained of the very first step towards emancipation, that even the reluctant and conscientious slave possessor, is restrained by law from divesting himself of the iniquitous property—he dare not and cannot emancipate his slave, except at the penalty of banishing him from home and family; for to emancipate him, he must first conduct him to another State, and leave him in exile for ever!

The condition of the free people of color in America, whose number exceeds 300,000, is only in a slight degree advanced. Their acquired privileges are but scanty and unsubstantial; their degradation is intolerable; their gradual banishment from the States is generally considered a maxim of national policy. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the internal slave trade is carried on with all its most disgusting and loathsome incidents—husbands and wives, mothers and children, are publicly exposed to auction, and handled

and examined like cattle, and then separated for ever with as little compunction, as sheep or oxen in our markets.

The horrible details of the system are to be found in many recent publications; and many of them are given at length in a work of acknowledged accuracy, MR. STUART'S "Three Years in America." For the present, therefore, it is unnecessary to dwell upon them.

It could not be expected that such a state of things should have failed altogether in awakening the sympathy and indignation of many good men in America. But such is the hardening tendency of familiarity with Slavery, and of habitual and national contempt of color, that till lately, a better feeling has made but very little progress, even in the northern States. Some good men have exerted themselves with perseverance and energy, to effect a revolution in the public mind. They have received, however, but little encouragement, and less support. Not deterred by this, they recently established a National Anti-Slavery Society at Philadelphia, under very favorable auspices, and with a fair promise of ultimate success: but still their number is too few, in proportion to the vast extent of country over which their labours must be distributed; and their financial resources too scanty, on an occasion which America has never yet regarded as one of charity, not to feel dismayed at the difficulty of their gigantic undertaking.

These good men have entreated our assistance: they have heard, and some of them have witnessed the wonderful success, which, under the blessing of Almighty God, attended the measures adopted in this country in kindling an Anti-Slavery feeling, and they have resolved to follow the example; their object is to propagate their principles throughout the States by lectures and daily publications; to combine and lead the efforts of their fellow-labourers in the extensive field before them, by the same means of affiliated associations and central correspondence; and they are resolved to adopt, and faithfully to adhere to the same right principles on which our country acted—*Slavery is a crime before God, and must therefore be abolished.*

The Committee could not be insensible to such an appeal. It was too nearly allied to those feelings which supported and stimulated them through their own arduous conflict, to be received with indifference; but when this alone had almost decided them on the duty of continuing their associated existence, they found from the letters of their friends in many parts of the country, that a similar anxiety generally prevailed to make themselves of further use, if it was considered in London that ought remained to do in this great cause. In some places, the Committee found themselves (for the first time they hope) anticipated in zeal. In Scotland and Liverpool especially, large sums were already subscribed for the same object, and it became obvious that a central and metropolitan committee would eventually become indispensably necessary, to conduct the intended operations upon any really efficient scale.

Under these circumstances the Committee re-assembled, and after a full consideration of the course which it became them to take, have re-organized themselves into the *British and Foreign Society, for the Universal Abolition of Negro Slavery, and the Slave Trade.*

Their whole purpose is explained under this general title, and they hope that they shall be enabled by the support of the country to accomplish these extensive objects. One of their first duties will be to give to the Anti-Slavery cause in America, all the assistance which can be supplied in sending to them Lecturers of acknowledged power, and in disseminating that information which may keep alive an active and profitable interest in their proceedings, in the United Kingdom. To effect the first and most important object, and to secure the co-operation of those most able and valuable men, who have distinguished themselves not less by their talents than their zeal, in the service of the Committee, it is calculated that a minimum income of £1500 per annum will be required for a term of three years; by which time it is hoped that American feeling will be sufficiently excited to dispense with all pecuniary assistance from strangers.

The second object can only be prosecuted in subordination to the first—and the extent to which it is attempted, will of course depend on the degree of encouragement which may from time to time be given by the country.

The Committee feel it right to explain on this occasion, that the line of duty which they have here chalked out for themselves, will not require that busy and unceasing exertion, and voluminous correspondence which necessarily attended their past labours. They mention this, not only to quiet apprehension as to the probable expense of their proceedings, but to allay any anxiety that may naturally be felt by their provincial allies, that a repetition will follow of those frequent calls upon their time which were absolutely inevitable, during the two years immediately preceding the passing of the Abolition Bill. The system of *agitation* then pursued, was essentially expensive and troublesome even to irritation; but it was indispensable, and it may not be unseasonable to mention, that its power is now acknowledged, even by men in power, who were most sensibly annoyed by its action, to have mainly contributed to the success of the measure. Such, however, are no longer the tactics necessary to follow. The steady and unwearied support of the Anti-Slavery public, unaided by the excitement of popular meetings, but sustained by a calm and conscientious principle of religious duty, is all they ask; and, by the blessing of God, will prove sufficient.

In the preceding explanation of their immediate object, and of the circumstances which have led them to recommence their Anti-Slavery exertions, the Committee repeat their wish, that it may be distinctly understood, that it is by no means intended to confine themselves to the cause of emancipation in America. The extent to which they may hereafter proceed, must necessarily depend upon the encouragement which they receive from the public; but when the public are made fully conscious of the vast claims that the negro still possesses on their sympathy, it cannot be doubted but that their support will prove both liberal and constant.

Not less than FIVE MILLIONS of our fellow creatures are still detained in hopeless bondage by the avarice and cruelty of man. Treaties have been made with ostentatious regard to the interests of humanity, and have been buried in the mysterious recesses of Downing Street, forgotten and disregarded! Laws and ordinances have been promulgated with busy zeal, to silence the remonstrances of British benevolence, and those laws have become a dead letter, ere the ink which recorded them was dry! It would be imprudent here to advert to facts which have from time to time been loudly whispered abroad, but there is too much reason to believe, that the extensive trade still carried on in the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, is sustained by British capital, and screened by British ingenuity. In Cuba and the Brazils, and in some of the French colonies, the market for human cattle is daily supplied from the coast of Africa; while the mines of Chili and Peru are peopled with miserable, though guiltless victims, whose blood is drained by a system of unparalleled horror, to fill the pockets of English shareholders! These things pass unheeded, because they are unknown; and there is no voice to make them known; for the cry of humanity jars with the soft tones of foreign diplomacy, and is lost in the heartless labyrinth of political negotiation!

The Committee wish to become the mouthpiece of their suffering and enslaved fellow-creatures throughout the world. They seek to unfold the secrets of every prison-house to the light of day—to give loud utterance to the groans of the captive negro, whether lashed to his task under the scorching rays of a tropical sun, or chained to labour in the abysses of a Peruvian mine: they hope that by thus forcing the subject on the frequent attention of their countrymen, they shall bring to his aid the protecting influence of Parliament: they may thereby secure the faithful observance of treaties, whose salutary provisions for the restriction of the Slave Trade are now slumbering in the closet of the minister: and may reasonably expect to find the influence of this country exerted in good faith, to induce other States to follow the noble example which she has given to them.

They are not unconscious of the magnitude, and, as some may consider it, the presumption of these pretensions; but they cannot forget, that emancipation even in our own colonies was, but a few years since, regarded as the dream of visionary enthusiasts! as a fanciful Utopian scheme impracticable to man! Yet by the blessing of God upon their labours, and with no other guide than principle to direct them, and no other aid than a few subscriptions, a power was brought to bear upon the legislature in the form of popular opinion, that within two years realized the vain imagination, and extinguished Colonial Slavery, if not at once, yet for ever.

Supported by the same Divine protection, and steadfastly adhering to the same principle, they ask no better means to lay the foundation of that far nobler triumph to which they now aspire, the utter extinction of Slavery throughout the world.

"Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts."

GEORGE STEPHEN, Chairman.

JOHN SCOBLE, Secretary.

P. S. It is possible that we may be obliged, in the first instance, to apply for your assistance in obtaining signatures to an address, which it is in contemplation to forward to the Americans; this may seem to threaten a renewal of those measures which we have said will not be repeated; but it is only intended as an introductory step to bring the subject emphatically before their eyes, and not as the prelude of the system we shall hereafter pursue. Some formal announcement of British feeling on the subject, appears necessary; but beyond this, we anticipate no occasion hereafter for any concerted and marked expression of national opinion.

Those who are willing to further the object of the Committee, as described in this circular, are requested to communicate their names to Mr. SCOBLE, No. 18, Aldermanbury, London, at their earliest convenience. It will be inferred from the preceding statement, that as respects the intended assistance to America, the request for pecuniary aid is limited to subscriptions for a term of three years.

#### ERRATA.

Page 257, for "Rev. Thornton J. Mills," read "Rev. Thornton A. Mills."

Page 263, line 7 from the bottom, *Dele* "audacity."

Page 269, line 5 from the top, for "that to use, Mr. Birney's own language in this very letter," read "that, to use Mr. Birney's language in this very letter."

Page 271, line 15 from the top, for "1834" read 1824."

Page 277, line 1 at the top, for "this singular" read "the singular."

# DR. HODGKIN'S REMARKS ON THE AFRICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

To Dr. Hodgkin's 'Inquiry into the merits of the American Colonization Society,' a Review of which appeared in our October Number, are appended some interesting remarks on the British African Colonization Society.—After a pertinent introduction, Dr. H. adverts to the obvious policy of the British public to encourage on the Coast of Africa, a taste for British productions, and to increase the demand for them by promoting the extension of civilization towards the interior of the continent. He then thus proceeds:

"This effect, colonization, on the American system, is peculiarly calculated to produce. Although it is not a rival, but an ally of the American colony, which the British Society is proposing to found, it ought to be remarked, that the present is a time in which it is peculiarly important for this country to turn its attention to the colonization of Africa, and more especially of its Western coast. Hitherto, the European settlements on this coast have been few, and, for the most part, unimportant; and the British, whose cruisers have long frequented the coast, for the suppression of the slave trade, have possessed a greater influence over the natives than any other civilized power. Whether this influence be worth possessing or not, I will not say; but it is obvious that it must give way before the more powerful and beneficial influence of America, exerted by means of her Colonization Society. Every year brings under its control fresh accessions of territory, which the natives are anxious to place under its jurisdiction, in order to receive, in return, European arts, and government of American mould. It is not to induce our country to undermine, or compete with this influence which America is obtaining, but to lead her to participate in it, as the reward of her exertions for the good of Africa, that the British Colonization Society is established. The increase and encouragement of British colonies in Africa is no new idea: it has been powerfully advocated, both politically and philanthropically, by James McQueen, a gentleman intimately acquainted with Africa, her sons, and her commercial advantages. He says of colonization, 'There is but one opinion amongst those who are, or who have had an opportunity of being acquainted with Africa, her population and present institutions; namely, that colonization, fixed and stable, can only render her any permanent benefit.' We have spoken of the powerful influence of colonization, in repressing the slave trade on the coast; but the author from whom I have quoted, points out the effect which it would produce in arresting a no less serious evil—the internal slave trade. On this subject he observes: 'Europe will have done but little for the blacks, if the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, which is trifling when compared with the slavery of the interior, is not followed up by some wise and grand plan, tending to the civilization of the continent. Colonization, permanent and powerful, is this wise and grand plan.' The same intelligent author forcibly urges the dangers of delay, and points to the rivals who may bear away the prize. Let him speak for himself. 'There is, perhaps, no part of the globe where new commercial establishments could be set down more easily, or where they could be more effectually protected than in Africa. It is at present a noble, and at present an undisputed, but not long to remain an undisputed field.' Again: 'Every obstacle will vanish before judicious and patient exertions. The glory of our Creator, the good of mankind, the prosperity of our own country, the interest of the present, and the welfare of future generations, glory, honor, interest call us; and, united, point out the path to gain the important end. Let but the noble Union ensign wave over and be planted by the stream of the mighty Niger, and the deepest wounds of Africa are healed. Round it, and to it, the nations from Balea to Darfur, from Ashben to Benin, would gather for safety and protection. The slave would burst his fetters, and the slave trade be heard of no more.—The road to effect this is open; it is safe; it will soon be occupied by others; and if we hesitate, the glory and the advantages will be wrested from our hands.'"

The following is Dr. Hodgkin's account of the plan of the British Society, and of the means proposed for effecting it:

"Let us first remark the general characteristics of the design; and next, the plan by which it is proposed to accomplish it. Taking the American system as that to which it is designed closely to adhere, the proposed colony or colonies on the coast of Africa will not, like most colonies established by civilized powers, seek to remove the original possessors of the soil, to make way for an exotic race. It will convey to the coast of Africa those who are of African descent, who may blend with, instruct, and ameliorate their brethren; and in doing so, it will avoid two other evils which have attended whites in tropical regions. It will avoid the immense risk of human life, which has attended the employment of whites; and, at the same time, it will not fail to give to the colored popu-

lation, whether natives, or introduced as settlers, an opportunity of exercising their energy, and exhibiting their talents, the want of which has proved a serious bar to the prosperity of black settlements. It is proposed to solicit the assistance of our American colonizing friends, in obtaining such free colored persons from America as may possess, in conjunction with a desire to emigrate, piety, talents, and information, calculated to make them useful in the formation of the settlement; in which, it is hoped, they will be joined and assisted by a few individuals from Liberia, as well as by such West-Indian blacks as may from time to time desire to avail themselves of their recently acquired liberty to return to the land of their forefathers. The natives in the neighborhood will, it is supposed, become, at first, occasional, and subsequently permanent settlers in the colony so established. It will be the wish and endeavor of the British Colonization Society, to engage the attention of our merchants, and, with their co-operation, to introduce a mutual and beneficial commerce; and also to conciliate the favor of our Government, which, it is hoped, will extend its protection to the colony, but at the same time allow it the privilege of self-government on the American model.

"The following is an outline of the mode in which the society expects to carry this design into execution. The natives in the neighborhood of Cape Mount, who were formerly active slave-dealers, have already, through the influence of the Colony of Liberia, begun to feel the wish, as well as the necessity of abandoning that traffic; and have offered to surrender a territory at that point, lying at the mouth of the river which empties itself into the sea immediately to the north of the Cape. The only return which they ask, is a participation in the privileges of the colony, and the introduction of schools and Christianity. It is this important spot—which may be said to form the southern extremity of that part of the coast which is likely to come under British influence, through Sierra Leone and its dependent settlements, and which is consequently on the northern extremity of the Liberian territory—on which it is proposed, at Elliott Cresson's suggestion, that the first attempt of the British Colonization Society should be made. He has no doubt that the local government of the colony, as well as the Managers of the American Colonization Society, may be induced, at his instance, to transfer the ceded territory to the British Society, for the purpose in question. The advantages of this spot—which Elliott Cresson, from the minute information which he has been at the pains of collecting, has fully pointed out—are strongly confirmed by the testimony of several of our countrymen who have visited it, and more especially by naval officers who have been employed in cruising along the coast, and are consequently able to form a comparative judgment between it and other spots which have been thought of. It is estimated that the sum of £2000 will enable the Association to meet the expenses of founding its settlement at Cape Mount, provided it receive the assistance of Governor Mecklin, and of the American Colonization Society. That of the latter will be required for the selection of the first settlers, and the superintendence of their transmission to the coast; and that of the former, in affording practical information as to the mode in which the settlers should proceed on their arrival, so as to reduce, as much as possible, the hardships and hazards which, to a greater or less extent, must always attend every enterprise like the one now proposed. Although these great and important advantages, in aid of the formation of the settlement, are looked to from the American Society, yet it is not designed that the British Society should become virtually a Branch of the American, but that it shall invite and receive settlers and accessions of various kinds from other quarters, whether associations or individuals, subject to such restrictions and regulations as the Managers may from time to time think fit to adopt. It anticipates advantages of this kind from our West-Indian Colonies.

The plan, of which the above is a sketch, originated with Elliott Cresson; but has been cordially approved and promoted by many distinguished, enlightened, and benevolent Englishmen, some of whose names are attached to the short Prospectus which the Society has published. The Duke of Sussex, who has honored it with his patronage, and who presided at the first meetings which were held for the purpose of instituting the Association, has given his careful attention to the subject, in detail. Lord Bexley has done the same; and has given the Society most efficient support, both in funds and exertion, being one of the most active members of the Committee. Several other noblemen and eminent persons have allowed the sanction of their names as Vice-Presidents. Colonel T. P. Thompson, and Captains Arabin and Rosenberg, naval officers who have been upon the coast, have contributed their valuable services as Committee-men; and important advantage has been, and must continue to be, derived from their local knowledge. Several individuals personally acquainted with those States and Colonies in which a large colored population, whether bond or free, have exhibited the character of the race whose comfort and melioration we are studious to promote, have favored us with their countenance and assistance; and some merchants, already embarked in the African trade, appear to take a lively and favorable interest in the undertaking.

"With all these advantages already in possession, and with many pleasing prospects for the future, we are nevertheless a small and feeble association, compared with the magnitude, the difficulty, and importance of the work which we have attempted."

The benevolent object of the British Society has failed to secure it from the virulent opposition which its American model has received:

"Some idea," says Dr. H. "of the spirit which actuated those who took a part in the opposition of which I am now complaining, may be formed from the assertion of one of the speakers, 'that the design was characterized by the secrecy of sin and the darkness of hell,' because Wilberforce, and Buxton, and Clarkson, and James Cropper, had not been invited to take a part in the proceedings of the day. Wilberforce, it is well known, was laboring under the infirmities which soon after put a period to his existence, and consequently could not be expected to attend any public meeting. It was nevertheless supposed that he was friendly to the design, as he had not then signed that Protest, which is so completely at variance with the tenor of his expressions on previous occasions, that it can never be regarded as the record of his deliberate judgment. Thomas F. Buxton's support would have been most gladly received; but his intimate connection with those whose opposition was most determined, precluded the possibility of expecting it. Remote residence, conjoined with the infirmities of age, were sufficient to account for the absence of the venerable Clarkson: it is, however, well known that he sanctions and approves the plan; although on private grounds, which have been already hinted at, he has not yet given it the support of his name.

"It would doubtless have been highly gratifying, as well as advantageous to the Society, to have had the sanction of James Cropper, whose zeal, generosity, and information, as well as his local situation, would admirably qualify him to be one of the most important and valuable supporters of the new society; but the decided part which he had already publicly taken against the American Society precluded, for the present at least, all hopes of such co-operation. Let me be allowed, on this occasion, to express my deep regret, that the enemies of Liberia have obtained such an influence over my friend James Cropper, as to pervert his talents and resources from the good which they might effect, and to render them the means of obstructing a great, benevolent and important work. The Anti-Slavery Society's Agent sought to attach another stigma on the new enterprise, by representing it as American, and not British. But what better pledge of success can be offered, than the resolution to adopt the plans which America has proved to be so availing; and which have already placed her infant Colony in such a condition, that the annals of colonization can scarcely present its equal for success and economy; and have certainly made it unrivalled, as respects its happy, yet powerful influence over the neighboring territories? And shall the Society be disowned as British, because such excellent and proved policy is wished to be adopted by individuals who are as truly English, and as studious of their country's prosperity and honor, as any who are to be found amongst the ranks of their opponents? Although the British Colonization Society rejoices in the prospect of its connection with the American Society, from which it hopes to receive the most important assistance, yet it must not be represented as merely the handmaid of that Society. It hopes to perform a part more exclusively British, when it turns its attention to our own colonies, and opens a field of promising and laudable enterprise to some of their emancipated slaves. Who will believe it? Even this idea was scouted by the Anti-Slavery orator, who, after the years he had spent in harangue in favor of the slave, we might have imagined would have been the last to oppose a scheme for his advantage. It was contended, that the extent of uncultivated lands in the colonies precluded the idea of emigration being desirable for West-Indian blacks; and although the speaker had objected against the American Colonization Society, that in the short period of its existence it had not brought about more obvious results, he extended his chronological calculations to millions of years, before the blacks of our colonies would require the asylum which we propose to offer them. I know of no data on which to found any feasible conjectures respecting such remote futurity; but I can easily conceive that an island may prove too small to afford a quiet residence to all the incongruous elements of its mixed population, long before every acre of its surface is brought into cultivation; and that, consequently, it is by no means improbable, that, in the arrangement of the new order of things in our colonies, it may be mutually desirable that some parties may be more widely separated from others than their present situation will allow."

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[From the *National Intelligencer*, Sept. 24.]

#### MONROVIA.

*Extract from the Journal of an Officer of the United States Navy.*

DECEMBER 11, 1833.

The town of Monrovia is on the South side of the Mesurado River, contains about 1000 inhabitants. The bank upon which the

town is built is so high that they have the full benefit of the land and sea breezes—a very important consideration in this hot climate. There are several good stone wharves upon the River, and large well filled store-houses. Immediately upon landing, we were met by a party of well dressed gentlemen, of various hues, from coal black to bright yellow, by whom we were conducted to the house of Mr. M'Gill, the present Vice Agent for the Colonization Society. Here we met most of the dignitaries of the Colony, Judge Johnson, Colonel Barbour, Mr. Warner, Mr. Lewis, and others.—After partaking of refreshments, that were liberally provided, we visited the houses of the different gentlemen, and were treated with universal politeness. Our arrival appears to have given rise to general rejoicing. We found among the colonists many intelligent and respectable men, who answered all our questions politely and satisfactorily. Our intercourse was somewhat constrained at first; we felt rather awkward, and there was some diffidence on the part of the colored gentry; but in a short time, all this was thrown aside, and we conversed and associated with the utmost freedom.—My name attracted the attention of Judge Johnson, who was originally from New Jersey, where the name is common. Although I could not claim the honor of a previous acquaintance with the Judge, we soon became intimate; and with another of the party, I received an invitation to dine with him.—The rest of the officers were distributed among the other gentlemen. I found the house of the Judge, a comfortable well furnished two story frame one, and the dinner such as you would get at the house of any of our most opulent farmers. Besides ourselves, the company consisted of the Judge and his two sons, a captain and lieutenant, of artillery. Judge Johnson was a native of Trenton, New Jersey, about fifty years old, and, if I may judge from the color of his skin, not a drop of white blood lurks in his veins; a man of good sound sense, not much assisted by education, the inconvenience of which he feels sensibly; and that his sons may not labor under the same disadvantage, every possible attention has been paid to the cultivation of their minds. They were so young when they left the United States, that they have but little recollection of their relative standing with the whites, and of consequence, are in a great measure divested of that awkwardness still observable among the older men, and those who have emigrated more recently. We were much pleased with the conversation of these gentlemen. They gave us a deal of information relative to the colony, of the many difficulties they had encountered, and of its present state and prospects. There was one remark made by the Judge, so replete with good sense, that it deserves to be remembered. Speaking of the United States, he said, that when there, his greatest ambition was to secure the reputation of a good servant, in which he believed he had succeeded; and had he remained there his life might have been dragged out comfortably enough, but he was induced to leave purely on account of his sons. They were now, he was proud to say, young men of the first consideration in the colony, and in the United States he would have been deemed fortunate in procuring them good situations as house waiters or coachmen. The Judge does not confine himself to the bench; he sometimes officiates in the pulpit; and displayed great skill and courage at the head of the colonial troops, in some of their wars with the natives. The reputation he there earned has given him the name of the Washington of West Africa.

There are several shades of society here, but no distinct intermediate grades; all are divided into two, the *good* and the *worthless*. The last class are by no means numerous. Nine-tenths of those who fall victims to the fever are the lazy and dissipated; and those whom I found discontented and willing to return to their former state of bondage, were invariably among this class of people.

After visiting two thirds of the houses in Monrovia, rich and poor, we embarked for the ship just before sunset.

DECEMBER 12. \* \* \* \* There is considerable trade carried on here—ivory, cam wood, and gold dust; are obtained from the natives, in exchange for rum, tobacco, trinkets, &c. Many of the colonists are engaged in the traffic. Some have made fortunes, this has been so tempting a bait, that too many have embarked in the business. Much time and money have been lost that would have been better employed in cultivating the soil.—Although a luxuriant soil, its productions fall far short of being sufficient for the consumption of the colony. Recently some fine farms have been opened and they are beginning to turn their attention to them. One of the principal merchants, Mr. Daily, a mulatto, and his chief clerk, Mr. Hicks, an ebony-colored gentleman; breakfasted with us. No one, however censorious, could have discovered any thing in the deportment of these men, that showed a want of good-breeding.

Mr. Minor, the colonial printer, dined with us. He is a little black gentleman, intelligent, and rather diffident. It was evident that he felt a little abashed, seated by one of our lieutenants, who had known him when a slave in Virginia. Several of the officers have met with acquaintances and have taken pains to convince them that circumstances of this kind have no weight with us. We have had a good many visitors to-day, who have been treated with marked attention. Indeed, it is due them, if it were merely in return for their civility to us.

DECEMBER 13.—We supplied the colony with some powder and shot, a boat, and other necessities.

DECEMBER 14.—The ship was under weigh before daybreak, and by 8 o'clock we had lost sight of the coast of Africa, all well pleased with our visit to Liberia. J. F. S.

### PETERBORO MANUAL LABOR SCHOOL.

We take great pleasure in copying from the New Haven Journal of Freedom of August 20, 1834, the subjoined article on an important institution for the benefit of the African race, which has been established at Peterboro, in the State of New York, by GERRIT SMITH. From the account of it given in the article, it promises to be an invaluable bounty to those for whose advantage it has been devised; and to raise another monument to the name of its founder—a name already associated with so much that is admirable in genius, in munificence, and in Christian charity:

"It is known to some extent, that Gerrit Smith, Esq. that munificent as well as eloquent friend of Africa, has recently attempted to establish on his own estate at Peterboro, Madison County, New York, a Manual Labor School for Young Men of Color. We have taken some pains to learn the particulars of his plan, and the circumstances in which it has gone into operation. But as we have not been able to visit the school, or to confer directly with any person who has had that privilege, we are obliged to content ourselves with a statement somewhat less minute than we could desire. The following particulars, however, have been gathered from such sources that our readers may rely upon them as correct.

The School is established in the belief that it is the duty of the whites to elevate the condition and character of the colored people, and that the education of large numbers of them is indispensable to the raising up of these down-trodden millions.

"It is intended that the School shall afford advantages for obtaining either a good common or classical education; and the hope is cherished that some well educated men will go out from it—well educated for any work to which they may be called in this or any other country.

"The teacher is Mr. C. Grant, formerly the Principal of Whitesborough Academy, who,

besides having the talents, learning, and piety, required for such a station, is heartily devoted to the welfare of the colored people.

"Mr. Smith provides, at his own expense, instructors, books, stationery, rooms, bedding, fuel, lights, and boarding. The student furnishes his own clothing. As a partial compensation for the above-named expenditures on his account, and as important to his own education, the student is expected to labor four hours daily, in some agricultural or mechanical employment. The proprietor has an abundance of land connected with the School. These four hours of labor are estimated as worth, on an average, about twelve and a half cents daily for each student. The living of the pupils is very plain. Neither tea nor coffee is allowed them. They have meat but once a day. They sleep on mattresses of straw. They do their own cooking and washing, under the superintendence of a respectable colored woman, who lived a great many years in the family of the late Governor Trumbull, of this State. This labor, however, is deducted from their four hours per day. Every scholar, on entering the School, is required to subscribe a promise of abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, including cider and strong beer, and also from tobacco in every form. Pains are taken that they shall all be perfectly free to form and express their opinions on Anti-Slavery and Colonization Societies, and kindred subjects; and they of course understand that they are perfectly at liberty to go where they please when they leave the institution. There is a reading-table in the School, well supplied with Anti-Slavery and Colonization publications.

The proprietor has not yet resolved how many students it will be judicious to receive after the first year. As yet he has prepared rooms for only eighteen. The School was opened on the first of May last. At the date of our information, about three weeks since, the number of scholars was but seven; though it was probable, from the number of applications for admission, that in a month or two the number for the present year would be full.

"Pupils under fourteen years of age are not desired. But any active and enterprising colored youth, of from 14 to 25 years of age, who is disposed to make the most of such advantages as this School offers, will do well to apply for admission. He will need at his starting a year or two's supply of good coarse clothing, and perhaps five or ten dollars in money over the expenses of his journey."

"We are happy to learn that the scholars appear to be highly pleased with their privileges, and that the School is becoming an object of much interest with the Christian community in the midst of which it has been established."

## INTELLIGENCE.

### MUNIFICENT LEGACY.

We learn from the *Norwich (Conn.) Courier*, that Dr. ALFRED E. PERKINS, who died recently in that city, besides various private bequests, has left to the American Colonization Society *one thousand dollars*.

[*From the Connecticut Observer, Nov. 24.*]

**LIBERIA.**—A gentleman near Natchez, lately deceased, has liberated his slaves, 18 or 20 in number, and furnished them with from 200 to 400 dollars each, to promote their comfortable settlement in Liberia.

[*From the Alexandria Gazette, November 15.*]

The State of Georgia has purchased of his owner, at the enormous price of \$1800, a negro man named SAM, with a view to his emancipation, for his services in extinguishing a fire on the State House, which occurred upwards of a year ago.

*Appointment by the Governor and Council of Maryland.*

Peter Hoffman, Esq. Commissioner to su-

perintend the emigration of the people of color, vice Moses Sheppard, resigned.

### COLONIZATION MEETING AT CINCINNATI.

A meeting of the Colonization Society, one of the largest and most interesting of the kind ever held in Cincinnati, took place on Friday, the 21st of October, in the second Presbyterian church. The chair was taken by the President, Rev. B. P. Aydelott, of the Episcopal church, and the meeting opened with prayer, by Rev. R. H. Bishop, D. D. of Miami University.

Several resolutions were passed and addresses were delivered by the Rev. Thornton A. Mills, Rev. Dr. Beecher, and R. S. Finley, Esq. Our columns are crowded, but for reasons that will be appreciated, we present the following.

The Rev. Dr. Beecher moved the

following resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. Mr. Graves, and adopted.

*Resolved*, That the establishment of colonies in Africa with emigrants selected from the moral, temperate, and industrious colored persons in America, is eminently calculated of itself, to disseminate the knowledge of civilization and the blessings of the Christian religion amongst the benighted native population of that country; and also to afford facilities to the various Missionary Societies for carrying into effect their pious designs.

Dr. B. addressed the meeting, and illustrated with great force and clearness, the following positions—That colonization is one of the best means of sending the gospel to Africa, and that it was eminently calculated to advance the cause of emancipation.—He did not contend that it was the only means of abolishing slavery in this country, or even that it was of itself entirely adequate to that object; many masters would, however, emancipate their slaves for the purpose of being colonized, and many slaves of a proper character, thus emancipated, would be willing to go to the Colony. Moreover it had caused the question of slavery to be discussed every where both in the south and the north, which had been the means of extensively enlightening the public mind, not only as to the evils of slavery, but also as to the best means of correcting them, and entirely abolishing the whole system.

After the addresses had been delivered, Mr. Finley introduced to the meeting, Mr. Joseph Jones, who has lately returned from Liberia, whither he had been sent expressly for the purpose of examining and reporting the state of the country. In reply to questions put to Mr. Jones on the subject, he gave a most interesting account of the Colony—its schools, its churches, its soil, productions, &c.

The meeting adjourned highly gratified with what they had heard. And doubtless a noble impulse was given on that occasion to the cause of African Colonization.—*Chris. Intel.*

#### COLONIZATION.

The Board of Managers of the Kentucky Colonization Society have re-

solved to send a company of emigrants to Africa, to start about the middle of January.

The Colonization Society of Cincinnati held a general meeting on the 31st ult., from the proceedings of which we select the following:

R. S. Finley, Esq., supported by the Rev. Mr. Lind, then submitted the following Resolution, which after a few pertinent remarks from the mover, was adopted without opposition, viz:

*Resolved*, That our success in establishing a Colony of colored persons in Africa, is intimately connected with the success which may attend our efforts to cultivate the intellect, and improve the moral and religious condition of our colored population at home.

Mr. Finley briefly adverted to the various measures which had been taken in the West, to procure authentic information of the state and prospects of the Colony; and took occasion to introduce Mr. Joseph Jones, a respectable colored man, who had spent several months in Liberia, in 1833, on a visit of observation, in behalf of the colored population, (by whom he was nominated,) and the State Society, of Kentucky.

Mr. Jones then proceeded, in reply to sundry interrogatories, to give his *first impressions of Africa*, and submitted a number of interesting facts, in relation to the actual condition of the Colony, under the heads of *Population—dwellings—food—clothing—agriculture—arts—commerce—education—religion, &c.*

As there was not sufficient time for all the details which it was supposed would prove acceptable to the audience, (including the exhibition of several specimens of African manufactures, and productions,) the examination of Mr. J. was postponed until the annual meeting of the Society, proposed to be held on WEDNESDAY EVENING next, the fifth inst. when such further questions as may be put to him by the audience, in relation to his opinions or experience, will be promptly and willingly answered.

[From the Southern Religious Telegraph, Richmond, Va. Dec. 5.]

The cause presented in the following article is commended by its own merits, its importance to the welfare of the sons and daughters of Africa, to the sympathies, prayers and enlightened liberality of Christian ladies in every part of our country.

The Sixth Annual meeting of the FEMALE COLONIZATION SOCIETY OF RICHMOND AND MANCHESTER was held in the Presbyterian Church on Shockoe hill, Wednesday, Nov. 26th. The following is a statement of facts, relative to their progress during the last year.

It is known to this Society that about 6 years since we determined to establish a fe-

male free school for orphan and destitute children in the Colony of Liberia. During that time our efforts to obtain a teacher proved unsuccessful. When the Rev. Mr. Pinney went to Africa as Governor of the Colony, we requested him to obtain a teacher there, if possible. It is with great satisfaction that the Board inform the Society that Mr. Pinney has complied with our request, and engaged the services of Mrs. Cyples,—who went from Charleston, S. C. recommended by Mr. Grimke, and has been qualifying herself for teaching in the school of Mrs. Thompson.—Mr. Pinney engaged to pay Mrs. Cyples \$200 per annum. \$249 60 have been expended in Tobacco and shipped to Norfolk for this purpose.

The annual collections which have been accumulating were placed at interest, and with donations, amount \$502 79 now in the Treasury. The collections this year amount to \$91 80, and we have no prospect at present of obtaining aid from any other source. The Female Society of Louisville, Kentucky, which was Auxiliary to this, has been dissolved, owing the secretary mentions, to the pressure in every thing where money is concerned.

It is unnecessary in this report to say any thing on the importance of female education; all present appreciate it. It is well known that to a great extent females have the control of mind. To the efforts and prayers of intelligent mothers, the world is indebted for much of the Wisdom and Piety which have blessed mankind.

How cheering is the thought that this is one of the means by which the conversion of the world is to be accomplished, and that we may bear a part in this glorious work. When we pray "Thy kingdom come," shall we not send up a petition that our humble efforts may be blessed by the Head of the Church, and result in leading many poor benighted females to the Saviour.

The Board would only add in conclusion, that they have determined to transmit to Mr. Pinney as much of the funds as he finds necessary to the aid and education of orphan and destitute children in the Colony. The name of this Society has been changed to "Ladies Society for Promoting female education in the Colony of Liberia."

**LETTERS FOR LIBERIA.**—An officer of the Massachusetts Colonization Society wishes us to say that by an arrangement of the Post Office Department, all letters for persons in Liberia properly directed, and forwarded *post paid* to New York Post Office; will be forwarded by the first opportunity.

[From the *Nat. Intelligencer*, Oct. 28.]

**VERMONT.**—*The Slave Question.*—A few days since, upon a resolution referred from the last Legislature, declaring Slavery and the Slave trade inconsistent with our bill of rights, and instructing their delegation in

Congress to endeavor to procure the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, a motion was made in the Legislature of Vermont, that the resolution be dismissed, whereupon a long debate ensued. Mr. Partridge was opposed to slavery, but in favor of the motion to dismiss. Mr. Dillingham opposed the motion to dismiss. In his view, a dismissal of the motion, would be virtually an acknowledgment that slavery was not wrong, and an instruction to members of Congress *not* to exert their influence for its abolition. The question to dismiss was *carried*—Ayes 103, Noes 90. On this very proper decision, the Boston Commercial Gazette makes the following just remarks:

"We rejoice at this decision, and are only sorrow it was not effected by a more decisive vote. We trust that every attempt, however remote, to interfere upon a point of such vital importance to the interests of the Southern States, will be indignantly frowned upon by every intelligent member of this community. We of the North have nothing to do with the subject, or if we have, it has been definitively settled, years and years ago, by the Constitution of the United States. The doctrines of Garrison, Tappan, and a few other deluded fanatics of the present day, must not be suffered to obtain a foothold in these New England States. It will lead, most unquestionably, in the first place; to disgraceful mobs and riots, as it has already done in the city of New York and other places, and will terminate in nothing short of civil war. The question, then, that naturally addresses itself to the plain common sense of every christian man, is plainly and emphatically this: Shall Garrison and his followers be permitted to agitate this peaceable community with doctrines, which, if followed up, *must inevitably lead to bloodshed, disunion, and civil war?*—We lament, as deeply and sincerely as they can, the existence of slavery in this country, and all the consequences to which it leads; but shall a remedy be attempted, with such a horrid alternative staring us in the face? We say, no, no, no. The end does not justify the means, and "come what, come may," every attempt, however clothed with charitable purposes, to agitate the subject, or get up an excitement in this community, must be most contemptuously frowned upon, and put to sleep forever."

**JONES' JOURNAL.**—**IMPOSITION.**—R. S. Finley, Esq. at a late meeting of the Colonization Society at Cincinnati, read several extracts from a report made by Mr. Joseph Jones respecting Liberia, which he had visited, and of which he spoke in fa-

vorable terms. His report has been published in several papers. After reading several passages, Mr. Finley said—

"I have been thus particular in my statements concerning Mr. Joseph Jones' report, because a false and spurious production has been quoted from, under the title of Jones' journal, and extensively published, purporting to be from the genuine and authentic report of this same Mr. Joseph Jones. And I have (continued Mr. F.) in my possession evidence to prove, *when, where, and by whom*, this false and spurious document was manufactured."—*Chris. Intel.*

#### THE COLONY AT LIBERIA.

DANVILLE, August 16th, 1834.

At a meeting held by a portion of the Students of Centre College, for the purpose of examining Mr. Joseph Jones, a colored man, as to the condition and prospects of the Colony of Liberia, Mr. W. TUNSTALL was called to the Chair, and ROBERT McKEOWN appointed Secretary.

After a protracted examination, conducted partly by persons friendly to the scheme of Colonization, and partly by persons opposed to it, the following resolutions were offered and adopted by the meeting—the first and third by a unanimous vote—the 2nd by a vote of twenty-eight to four.

1. *Resolved*, That this meeting return their thanks to Mr. Jones for the obliging and satisfactory manner in which he has answered the questions proposed to him in reference to the Colony of Liberia.

2. *Resolved*, That the intelligent representation of Mr. Jones has convinced us as to the favorable prospects of the Colony, and has given us renewed confidence in the practicability and benevolence of the scheme of Colonization.

3. *Resolved*, That these resolutions and the questions and answers on which they are based, be printed in the Olive Branch and Luminary.

#### QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

1. How many of the emigrants are discontented? Several; a very large majority are perfectly satisfied.

2. What is the cause of their discontent? They say that it is because the country is not fit to live in; but I say it is because they have no industry. They have no good reason.

3. What is the general character of the discontented? People who are not disposed to work or take any care of themselves.

4. Has the Colony any influence in civilizing the natives? I think it will civilize them in time. If more means were used for this purpose, it would do it faster.

5. Do the natives wish to come under the laws of the colony? They do.

6. Are they willing to give up the slave trade if they can be received under the protection of the colony? They are. Some come into the bounds of the colony from their native places, to escape the slave trade.

7. Do any of the natives become real christians? There are two of whom I know. There may be others.

8. Do the natives wish to learn to read?—Some of them are very desirous to learn.

9. Do you think the colony itself, without any direct efforts by missionaries sent from here, would christianize the natives? In time it probably would.

10. Does the colony give the natives a disposition to receive missionaries among them? It does. They understand by it better what good they will get from them.

11. Does the colony afford advantages to us for acting on the natives by missionaries and schools? Yes. The bad influence to the natives from civilized men who do wrong, would not be as much as the good from the missionaries and schools.

12. Are the preachers who sell rum paid for preaching. No; they get nothing for it.

13. How many natives have you seen drunk? I have seen a great many natives, and I never saw but one drunk.

14. What do the colonists think of the man who said the natives ought to be slaves? He is thought badly of for such a notion. He has hurt himself by saying so.

15. How many days did Samuel Jones remain in the colony? Eight days, I believe, including the day of his landing and the day he went on board.

16. Had he any opportunity for learning the condition of the colony? No. It was impossible.

17. Do you believe the statements given, as made by Jones, that "hundreds are starving there?" I believe no such thing. I heard of folks starving in Africa, but I could never find them.

18. How many did you ever hear of as suffering for want of food? I heard distinctly of a couple of people.

19. What was the cause of their suffering? They lived away from any others and were sick; and the neighbors did not attend to them; I heard it said that some thought the one that died might have got well if she had been taken care of. But I suppose such things may happen anywhere.

20. How long were you in Africa? Nine months and twenty-nine days.

21. Did you visit every part of the colony? Yes, and spent some time in each part.

22. Are colonists, as a body, called christians by the natives?—They do not call them by this name, but call them all *white men*.—They use the expression a *God-man*, to mean what we do by a christian. They only call those they think to be good "*the God-men*." They make a difference as we do.

23. Does not the example of a transgressing christian excite more contempt in the natives than that of a non-professor? Yes.—When a man professes to be good and does not act so, he is more despised.

24. Is not the fear of an attack by the fever so prevalent that the visitors generally remain in their ships during the night? A number of scary passengers go on board at night?

But some die on board as well as on shore.—Almost all must be sick more or less in becoming seasoned.

25. Would it be better for the whole colored population, if now freed, to go to Liberia? No, not without arrangements for receiving them.

26. Would it be better for themselves, the colony, and the natives, that 20,000 in their present unprepared state, should go? I cannot say—but doubt whether it would.

27. Would it be better that 5,000 or 10,000 should? If their masters would give them suitable preparation, it would be well for all to go, *provided they would go willingly*.

28. If they had such preparation as the Society is now making necessary for each emigrant—that is, if each had a small house of his own provided and ready built on a piece of ground which he could cultivate, (the title to which house and ground to be given when he had prepared another similar house for a future emigrant)—would 10,000 a year be too many to send? No. If they had such preparation and went willingly, their number would make no difference.

29. Do not the colonists look down upon poor emancipated slaves sent from here, as degraded and a disgrace to the colony? I have heard such talk among the quality of the colony.

30. Do they look down upon them as much as the white people of New York look down upon the free blacks among them? I reckon not; and I suppose I am fit to give an opinion, as I was in New York about as long as Samuel Jones was in Africa.

31. Do you think that the colonists would be willing that great numbers, as they now are, should be sent immediately? Many would receive them gladly—a majority would receive them.

32. Do the colonists generally deal fairly with the natives? Many of them do not.

33. Do the preachers? Some of them do, and some of them do not.

34. Is not the religious influence of the preachers and church members much done away by their unfair dealing with the natives? The colonists themselves speak of this, and the preachers in the pulpit; as a thing that hurts their usefulness among the natives.

35. Are they there as they are here—some good and some bad? Very much the same.

36. Is temperance gaining ground there? Yes; some of them begin to think that they can do without either selling or drinking.—Thirty-three joined a Temperance Society at Caldwell on one night; and some of these were strongly opposed to it when I first went to Liberia.

37. Are there many children at school?—The most of them are. The re-captured Africans have schools among them.

38. Are any of the re-captured Africans christians? A great many; two of them are preachers.

39. How do the colonists treat the natives that are servants among them? Some tolerably well, and some roughly; they whip them sometimes.

40. Are those servants hirelings? Yes.—They need not live with a person if they do not choose. But if they go away before the time for which they hire is expired, they receive no wages.

41. Do they treat the natives worse than the whites treat the free blacks in Kentucky? A good many of them do.

42. Is there one law to protect colonists and another to protect natives? No; they enjoy the same laws.

43. Do the natives consider themselves worse off by the Americans having settled? No; they think they are much better off.—There are no wars among them where the Americans protect them. There are, however, cases where individuals impose upon them.

44. Had there been any capital punishment in the colony? No.

45. Are the natives permitted to vote? No; they are not citizens. The re-captured Africans are, and they vote.

46. Can you vote in Liberia when you return? Yes.

47. Do they let white men vote? No.

48. Do they let white men hold land or houses? No.

49. Have the natives an equal chance of justice? No.

50. Have the free blacks an equal chance here? No.

51. Would a respectable colonist marry a native? No; they have no objection to marrying a re-captured African, for they are considered as civilized.

52. Are the natives in the settlements treated as servants? They hire and are so treated. Some of them live in houses by themselves, and not with the colonists.

53. Is any effort made by the colonists to elevate the natives? Some of the colonists try to do it; but there is not as much effort as there should be.

54. Are there any schools which the natives may attend? There are two at New-Georgia, and all the Sabbath schools.

55. Do the natives attend church? Very seldom.

56. Do the natives fear the colonists, and do the colonists wish them to do so? Some of them do.

57. Do any of the colonists say the natives should be slaves? I heard of one man only who said so.

58. Have the colonists, those who are able to afford it, a native or two to work for them? Yes.

59. Are the rich colonists proud and luxurious? They generally are.

60. Do the natives lounge about much? No, they are generally very industrious.

61. Are the preachers traders? They generally are.

62. Do they trade in rum, tobacco, fire-arms, and beads? Yes.

63. Is rum a chief article in trade? There has been a good deal of trade in it.

64. What use do the natives make of fire-arms? Chiefly to shoot game. They do not use them to shoot other natives. When the

Africans go out to kidnap, they shout and hurrah round the village and frighten the inhabitants and catch them when they run. I do not know that those who purchase guns from the colony use them for this. Those who deal with slave-traders receive guns in exchange for slaves.

65. Can rum be procured at any of the stores? Yes.

66. What is its price? From \$1.25 to \$1.50 cts. per gallon.

67. How many went out in the Ajax last fall? About 150 or 160.

68. How many died? Twenty nine died on the voyage of whooping cough, cholera, and bowel complaint—they were almost all children. The voyage was very long. About 45 died in seasoning.

69. Were any of the physicians employed by the colony, there, when the passengers of the Ajax were sick? No. Drs. Hall and Todson were both away.

70. While you were there the Jupiter, the Argus, and the Ann arrived. How many died out of the passengers? The Jupiter brought 50, and two of them died. The Ann brought forty, and none died.

71. Are the natives healthy? They are as healthy as any people. They look far better than the blacks here.

72. How long does the seasoning last.—From 3 to 24 months.

73. Does the sickness when it seizes them, make them discontented? It often does.

74. Can they ever attend to their business while sick with this disease? Many can. Children have it not as bad as grown persons.

75. Are they generally healthy after they have had this disease? Remarkably so.

76. Have any of the colonists been connected with the slave trade? Such a thing has been said—but no proof has been given.

77. What is the punishment for a person engaging in this trade? He is hung.

78. Are the colonists generally disposed to cheat the natives? They make the best bargain they can generally—so men do elsewhere. Some of the natives are so keen as often to cheat them.

79. Have the colonists a disposition to traffick and not to agriculture? Much more attention was given to trade than to farming. More attention was given to agriculture in

4 months before I came away, than had been in six whole years before.

80. How many emigrants escape the fever? I saw three or four who had never been down a day.

81. Would the same number of slaves set free here be as well as they are there? No.

82. Why do you think so? They are not looked down upon, nor trampled upon there as they are in this country. They can do as they please.

83. Do the mass of the free colored people here live as comfortably as the mass of the colonists? No.

84. What would be necessary to enable a man to live comfortably if he went from here to Liberia? A suitable set of utensils, furniture, clothes for two or three years, enough of food to last till he could raise a crop. All these would cost about \$150.

85. Does it require as much labor to raise enough to support him there, as it does here? No. He can support his family better, with half the labor.

86. Why can he do this? Because, what he raises there grows far more abundantly and with less labor.

87. Were the most of those who went out in the last expeditions emancipated slaves?—Yes.

88. Do they permit men to leave their wives there, or wives to leave their husbands? No, they put such persons in jail.

89. Are efforts made to persuade the free colored people in Kentucky not to emigrate? Yes—more than to persuade them to do so. The enemies of colonization are more active than its friends.

90. Were efforts made to prevent you giving testimony in favor of the colony? Yes. I was told in New York that if I liked Liberia, I had best keep it to my myself—that it was not popular, and I had best say nothing about it. In Philadelphia, too, I was called upon by a person to take my testimony; but he wished to make me answer according to his notions and not according to what I knew.—He wanted to ask and answer the questions both himself.

W. M. TUNSTALL, *Chairman.*

ROBERT McKEOWN, *Secretary.*

[*Western Luminary.*]

### CONCLUSION OF THE TENTH VOLUME.

In order that the volumes of this work may hereafter commence with the year, the Tenth Volume terminates with the present number. A copious Index to the whole ten volumes of the Repository has been prepared for the press, with much care and labor, and will soon be published. The Editor considers it proper to state, that absence from his office during a large portion of the past and present years, has rendered it impossible for him to give much attention to the Repository. It is hardly necessary for him to say with what success the duties that have usually devolved on him, have been discharged, since the best evidence on this subject is found in the original articles of the work, particularly in the Review of MR. BIRNEY's letter, in the last number. In these articles (from the pen of another member of the

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present Board of Managers of the American Colonization Society), the Society has been ably vindicated from the aspersions which men, regardless alike of honor, of justice, and truth, have cast upon it. We refer not to MR. BIRNEY, who has doubtless permitted his imagination to dim the light of his reason, and from abstract speculations concerning human rights, to deduce the practical duties of life. We refer to men who, under the white flag of Peace, and the starry banner of Freedom, consider themselves privileged to vend wholesale slander and falsehood, and claim therefor the crown of martyrdom.

The readers of the African Repository are aware, from the publication of the last Annual Report, and two additional reports which appeared in the March and August numbers of this work, that the Society has been for some time laboring under pecuniary embarrassments, owing principally to its having sent out too large a number of emigrants to the Colony for the two or three years past. At the last annual meeting of the Society, it had an outstanding debt of \$45,645.

To meet this difficulty, the Board of Managers passed an order, authorizing a loan of \$50,000, to bear an interest of six per cent. to be paid off in twelve years, providing a Sinking Fund of \$6000 a year from their receipts for the regular payment of the annual instalments and interest. Upwards of \$20,000 of this Stock has been taken by our creditors and friends; the former receiving it in part or in full for their claims; the latter advancing its amount in money. More than one-half of our outstanding debt has been discharged during the present year, and the balance is owing to persons who will either take stock for it, or wait our convenience for payment. It is true, the stock is still considered as a debt, but it will be paid off so gradually, as scarcely to be felt by the Society.

To effect this great object, and to supply the necessary wants of the Colony, the Society had to refrain from sending out any additional emigrants during the present year, except fourteen liberated by Mrs. Ann Page, of Frederick county, Virginia, who were sent out in the same vessel which carried out the colored people of the late Dr. Aylet Hawes, of that State, dispatched by our Auxiliary, the Young Men's Society of Pennsylvania, who are settling a new place at Bassa Cove, a territory mentioned in our last Annual Report as having been lately added to Liberia.

In the mean time, it is expected that our Agent, Mr. Pinney, will have made such regulations and improvements in the Colony, as will greatly conduce to its future prosperity, and such as will enable the inhabitants, by well-applied industry, to raise sufficient sustenance in the Colony to supply, not only all the wants of the present settlers, but also sufficient to feed such as may hereafter be sent there, independently of the Parent Society.

The principles of the Colonization Society are not to be shaken. They are gathering strength from opposition, and will outlive all the fury of the storm which has been excited against them. Made prevalent, they must preserve the integrity of our Union, exalt our national character, and open the way to the freedom, the elevation and happiness of the whole African race.

# CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society in the month of November, 1834.

Gerrit Smith's First Plan of Subscription.

Mathew Carey, Philadelphia,	-	-	-	-	-	\$100
John T. Norton, Albany,	-	-	-	-	-	100
<i>Collections from Churches.</i>						
Bethany church, Allegany co. Pa. by Rev. William Jefferey,	-	-	-	-	-	10
Bangor, Lancaster co. Pa. in the Episcopal church,	-	-	-	-	-	9
Bellevue, do Presbyterian church, by Rev. J. Byers,	-	-	-	-	-	6 35

Chester District, S. C. by Warren Flenniken,	20
Franklin co. Pa. at Loudon and Welsh Run,	10
Germantown, Pa. Methodist Episcopal church, by Rev. J. Woolsen,	7 50
Hilltown, Bucks co. Pa.	3
Morgantown, Berks county, Pa. Episcopal church,	2 42
New Britain, Bucks county,	3
Schenectady, Reformed Presbyterian church, by Rev. E. D. McMaster,	70
Presbyterian church, by Rev. John McMaster,	4
Strasburg and Lancaster, by Rev. Mr. Torbat,	10
<i>Auxiliary Societies.</i>	
Clarksville, Ohio, by Samuel V. Watkins,	30
Connecticut Auxiliary Society, by Seth Terry, Treasurer,	650
Kenyon College, Ohio, Auxiliary,	100
Virginia Auxiliary, by B. Brand, Treasurer,	150
Zanesville and Putnam Auxiliary, by H. Safford, Secretary,	143 56
Troy Auxiliary Society,	8 50
<i>Donations.</i>	
Albany, from J. H. Prentice,	100
E. P. Prentice,	50
T. W. Olcott,	25
Cash,	20
do	20
Mr. Webb,	10
Franklin county, Pa. from Robert Kennedy,	10
Kinsman, Ohio, from John Kinsman and George Swift, \$5 each,	10
Mrs. Rebecca Kinsman,	5
Peter Allen,	3
Wm. France and Rev. Isaac McIlvaine, \$2 each,	4
Mrs. M. A. McIlvaine, Mrs. Mary Plum, Dea. Burnham, and Thomas Kinsman, \$1 each,	4
New York, from James Boorman,	200
do do payable on the departure of the next vessel with emigrants to Liberia,	300
George Douglass,	200
Samuel A. Foot,	100
Goodhue & Co.	100
James Lenox,	100
H. F. Varick,	50
William B. Astor,	40
Robert Maitland,	40
Philip Hone,	40
John Morrison,	25
S. Whitney,	25
J. & W. Kelly,	25
John C. Halsey,	25
Henry Young,	25
Richard Irvin,	20
D. Lord,	10
a Lady,	10
do	10
six Gentlemen, \$10 each,	60
three do \$5 each,	15
Leander Mead,	5
a Gentleman,	3
Moses Allen, for a collection at the Dutch church, Poughkeepsie,	30
Philadelphia, from Elliott Cresson,	400
James Bayard,	10
Salem, Mass. from Rev. S. M. Worcester,	5
Troy, from T. B. Bigelow,	25
Stephen Warren,	10
David Buel,	10
D. Buel, Jr. Mr. Mabbitt, John Paine, D. O. Kellog, A. P. Heart,	
John Hunter, D. Walker, W. Webb, J. L. V. Schoonhoven, A.	
S. Perry, J. M. Warren, Mrs. N. Warren, J. L. Thompson,	
Phil. T. Heartt, John V. Tassett, D. Gardner, P. H. Buckley,	
R. P. Hart, A. Robbins, James R. Taylor, each \$5,	25
a Gentleman,	4
three do \$3 each,	9
four do \$2 each,	8
three do \$1 each,	3
one do	







